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HON. LEMUEL D. EVANS,

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T E X A S,

O N T H E

FOREIGN POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES,

DELIVERED IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES

ON THE 24TH OF JULY, 1856.

WASHINGTON:
AMERICAN ORGAN, PRINT.
1856.

SPEECH

OF

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The House being in the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union—

Mr. EVANS said :

Mr. CHAIRMAN : I am fully aware that it may be deemed, by some, both improper and presumptuous, in a new member of this House, to dissent from the opinions or dispute the policy of older, wiser, and more experienced statesmen, and especially if these wield the powers and wear the dignities of administrative functions, or occupy the position of guiding lights, and exponents of great and influential parties. Nevertheless, my own reason and conscience alike compel me to differ with certain distinguished leaders and masters of political authority; and the same interior and earnest monitors of the mind prompt me to the expression of that disagreement with all the intellectual force which I may be able to command; but yet in the terms and spirit of a just, impartial, and courteous criticism. And, although a sense of public duty constrains me to present several facts which may prove unpleasant to the feelings of others, I can well assure them, one and all, that I am actuated by no unworthy motives of unkindness, or the wish to inflict unnecessary pain.

The session is now rapidly drawing to a close, when all its acts will be fixed forever in the annals of the irrevocable past. But, before the day of final adjournment, I desire to record my dissatisfaction with the poverty of the results which have been effected by all its profuse expenditures of time, talents, and energy. There lies around us, in unsightly confusion, a vast arrearage of neglected affairs, both foreign and domestic, which, as a debt of honor to our own dignity and of respect to our own constituents, should at least have been subjected to the complaisance of a discussion.

The whole country is aggrieved and disgraced by the utter inefficiency of our only nominal Navy, so strangely disproportionate to the grandeur and greatness of our mercantile marine. But still no well-digested plan has been suggested, no vigorous movement has been made for its reorganization or improvement. Our coast defences are notoriously and even shamefully inadequate. We have no sufficient and systematic scheme of protection for our immense frontier, infested as it is by roving and ruthless bands of hostile savages. But worse than all, we have no safe or suitable lines of communication between the heart and centre of the Republic, and those remote, yet imperial posses-

sions that stretch far away through so many degrees of latitude along the shores of the Pacific ocean; and at this very hour, all the treasures and trade of California are held by us as tenants at sufferance by the mere mercy of that great maritime Power who arrogantly and truly boasts, "that she can, at her own pleasure, cut in twain the interstate commerce of the Union!" And with that same mighty Power, the most sagacious and politic in the world, we have issues, both old and new, of the utmost importance, and of the most complicated character, which demand immediate attention, and speedy adjustment. There are delicate questions connected with Central America, with Cuba, with Hayti, and others, growing out of different interpretations of public and international law, which, at any the most unexpected moment, and while we remain destitute of all prudent preparation for so desperate a conflict, may involve us in the horrors of a war with the greatest maritime power on the globe.

It is not my design or desire to enumerate the wrongs which we have suffered at the hands of England, for the purpose of exciting national prejudices, or to widen the unnatural breach between the people of the United States and their brethren of the British Islands, bound together, as they are, by such numerous and endearing ties of interest, as well as affection. I would not, if I could, provoke a quarrel with that other and older branch of the great Anglo-Saxon stock, from whom we derive our blood, our language, and our religion; and to whom all the rest of mankind, and the glorious cause of liberty, law, and progressive civilization, stand so very largely and permanently indebted on the broad ledger of the world's history. I desire only, in a calm and philosophic spirit, to state those grievances which a wise and prudent policy should endeavor, by vigorous, but if possible, by pacific means, to redress, and thus prevent the occasion and all necessity for the dire appeal to the umpirage of arms—an event that every intelligent mind must regard as a most terrible calamity to both countries, and to the human species.

But it does not follow as a logical sequence, that the assertion and maintenance of our independent and sovereign rights and interests as a great nation, or that the fulfilment of our exalted and wonderful destiny, will tend to disastrous collisions with any other Power. On the contrary, a firm, just, and fearless policy towards foreign Governments, claiming every privilege to which we are

fairly entitled, and resenting even the appearance of a wrong, is the surest of all methods to secure the blessings of a prosperous and permanent peace. It is with nations as with individuals. As a general rule, their rights will only be respected when they unite the will with the ability to defend them. There are some timorous statesmen, who seem inclined to patient and uncomplaining submission under any aggravation or amount of injury, from their morbid and imaginary horror at the dangers of war. These sensitive and over-cautious politicians misapprehend the real character and tendencies of the age. They utterly forget and ignore the great fact, that there are far mightier agencies at work in this modern world of ours, than any fleets which ever swept the ocean, or than any armies that can thunder on the land. The day has passed, never to return, when masses of mere muscle, or bundles of brute force could crush the hopes and sway the destinies of mankind. Nations now contend for supremacy with weapons of a totally different description, and of inconceivably greater power. They solve the problems which time and changing circumstances raise between them, by the subtleties of diplomacy, the energies of the intellect, the measureless strength of public opinion, the weight of irresistible argument, and the world-wide potencies of an all-embracing commerce. They struggle, not with naked nerves, or with fire and steel, but with moral and spiritual arms, with sciences, arts, civilization, and with all the noble impulses and institutions that spring up from the teeming bosom of Christian society. And what people can be compared to ours in any of these particulars? In one element of material wealth alone, we possess a magical and almost fabulous power to control all the enlightened communities of the earth. We need not fear any or all of the coalesced potentates of Europe, while cotton, the world-king, is our agent and ally in every capital on the globe. In short, our geographical position, and the immensity of our resources, long ago justified us in assuming a far higher station among the great Governments of Christendom, than we have yet had the boldness to demand.

But unfortunately, a weak and wavering policy, sometimes timid and truckling, and then again at inopportune seasons audacious and insolent, has well-nigh rendered us contemptible even to the petty powers of Spanish America, while the royal courts and crowned heads of the other hemisphere treat our noisy assertion of the Monroe doctrine as "mere bluster and bravado."

Acting under this erroneous impression, for which she saw too many apparent reasons in the singular conduct of the Administration, England adopted her unjust and unwarrantable interpretation of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, urging our utter exclusion from every square foot of soil in Central America, while she claimed the right of holding the strongest and most important military and commercial positions. The bare statement of such a construction, as the substance of a compact between equal and independent sovereigns, is sufficient to expose its absurdity; for no Government could have arrogated a greater superiority over another in reference to any given matter of dispute, even after the terrors of the most fur-

ous war, when victory and conquest had decided the question. The very supposition is preposterous and self-contradictory, and must be viewed in that light by every intelligent Englishman—that any free nation, in a state of peace, and uninfluenced by overwhelming fears, should voluntarily form a solemn treaty, in which all the gain and glory were to be on the other side, and all the loss on their own! The assumption is repelled by all history and by the unchanging laws of human nature, that either masses of men or individuals will relinquish important powers and privileges without some appearance of an adequate, or at least appreciable, consideration. But in the case supposed by the British interpretation, there is not even the semblance or shadow of reciprocity. It stands alone in the annals of diplomacy as a solitary instance of suicidal generosity on the one part, and of insolent, unparalleled cupidity and presumption on the other.

This, however, was only the inception of a systematic series of open and covert aggressions. England did not long remain satisfied with the perpetration of that verbal outrage. The ink was scarcely dry on the parchment by which the compact had been ratified, when she violently wrested from the impotent State of Honduras the whole of the Roatan Islands—that interesting group which covers the fine route to California, as surveyed by the skill of Squiers. These she now possesses as colonial instruments to bar a future highway for our trade and travel to the waters of the Pacific ocean. But although this act of wanton usurpation was done in 1850, or half a dozen years ago, yet up to the present hour the Government of the United States has not succeeded in obtaining either redress, or even explanation for the injury.

Again; that outrage was duplicated at San Juan; for, no sooner had American enterprise and capital opened through the forests of Nicaragua a new and speedy transit to the enchanting land of gold—the American State of California—than the grasping hand of England hastened to seize the northern gate of this great American highway, by plundering Nicaragua as she had previously plundered Honduras; and all this, too, in a time of profound peace. And, defiant of both reason and remonstrance, she still holds these actually conquered positions as a double menace over American commerce.

But, notwithstanding such manifest encroachments on American rights, and notorious infractions of national faith, solemnly plighted by the clearest stipulations of a formal treaty, we have not yet, after the lapse of six years of the most patient and submissive endurance, mustered the necessary resolution to perform one positive or practical deed in defence of the famous Monroe doctrine. It is true, there have been some eloquent speeches on the subject, with a beautiful display of diplomatic notes; but no energetic measures, no similitude of results, nothing, in fact, which by any possibility could effect a favorable adjustment of the questions in controversy.

I will not now discuss the curious drama of the enlistment quarrel, in which our Government, at first clearly in the right, managed its diplomacy with so much perverse ingenuity as to be, at the last, as clearly in the wrong, and only failed to

involve two great countries, connected by innumerable ties of affection and interest, in the flames of a destroying strife, from the friendly feelings and extraordinary intelligence of their respective commercial classes, and the generous forbearance, in this instance at least, of the British ministry. Had Mr. Crampton been dismissed immediately on the discovery of his offence, all the world would have approved the act, and there the matter must have ended. But to procrastinate and delay the deed until the English Government had offered the most ample and honorable amends that ever one independent Power tendered to another, and then to refuse and even spurn the apology, had the aspect of a useless and gratuitous insult, which, it is to be feared, will be atoned for in the future by the concession of much more momentous points.

Neither will I dwell upon the inexplicable fact, that England would not permit us to accept the Sandwich Islands, that beautiful group of emerald gardens planted, as it were, by the kind hand of Providence on the tranquil bosom of the Pacific ocean, as havens of refuge and refreshment for our Asiatic trade, although they were twice offered to the Federal Government by the only power pretending to any authority, or competent to treat on the subject. Why such an invaluable political boon was not received with corresponding eagerness and joy, our rulers have not condescended to explain; and I will for the moment respect the mysterious veil which they have so carefully thrown around the secrets of the Cabinet.

But there lies another diplomatic mystery nearer home, almost at our very doors, which I have no intention to respect, or leave in political darkness. When the prowess of the Dominican people had redeemed Eastern Hayti from the horrors of anarchy, under African misrule, the first foreign movement of the new and liberated community was an humble and earnest supplication to the United States for the recognition of their independence. The Island of Hayti, as it is well known, forms the key to the Caribbean Sea, as Cuba does to the Gulf of Mexico; and hence, every consideration of interest, combined with the highest motives of justice, sympathy, and humanity, all called upon us to cultivate the kindest and most intimate relations with the young republic; for there is not another free, white, or truly American Government in the entire circle of the West India group. That is the only liberal or friendly Power who overlooks the path of our Central American transits. All the rest, save the negro despotism of Hayti, are European colonies, the property of nations the most inimical to American prosperity and progress. It was, therefore, a self-evident and solemn political duty on our part to defend and foster this lovely but solitary oasis of constitutional liberty in the dreary, surrounding desert of African and European domination. It was immediately after their emancipation in 1844, that the Dominican people made their earliest appeal for friendship and moral assistance to "the great model and mother of American Republics," as in the language of intense and affectionate admiration they styled the United States; and it is difficult even to imagine the reasons why their request was so long denied or disregarded.

Mr. Fillmore's administration attempted some slight advances in that direction, but the emissaries of European courts, and the advocates of negro ascendancy, opposed the measure with such vehement denunciation as caused it to be abandoned.

After a brief interval, the attention of President Pierce was called to the singular condition of the brave and suffering Dominicans. For ten years, they had struggled against incessant African invasions, and gallantly maintained their freedom in spite of negro numbers and the cunning of European intrigues. Such a spectacle could not fail to excite the sympathy of the new Administration, then in perfect accordance with popular opinion and will, and pledged alike to the cause of justice and generosity, as well as to a large and enlightened system of American policy, by the sonorous sentences of the inaugural. As a consequence, General William Cazneau, a man favorably known in the military and civil annals of Texas, was directed to proceed to Eastern Hayti, in the character of a special agent, for the purpose of inquiring into the political state of its people, and their ability to sustain a national existence. After a careful investigation, he returned to Washington in April, 1854, and submitted an affirmative report. In the following June, he was commissioned to negotiate a treaty with the Dominican Government, and the frigate Columbia carried him to St. Domingo, where he arrived in July of the same year. Both himself and his propositions were most cordially greeted by President Santana, and the business proceeded harmoniously, notwithstanding the opposition of the European consuls and their efforts with the blacks to defeat its consummation.

Very soon, however, the British consul informed the Dominican President, that his Government protested against, and would firmly oppose, any agreement which would open new harbors to American commerce, or give a coal depot to the United States within the territories of the island; and menacing remonstrances of a still more insolent character were urged upon the fears of the members of Congress, at that time in session. But more ominous and outrageous still, the arrogant English official could point to a significant warrant for his threats in the presence of a powerful squadron in the port. The agents of France also concurred to the fullest extent in this scheme to prevent the ratification of the treaty between two sovereign and independent countries; and influenced by this double duress, the Dominican President was compelled to recede. Indeed he could no longer be considered a free functionary, but the mere instrument and slave of the European courts.

General Cazneau protested, in the most spirited manner, against this foreign dictation and unauthorized interference to frustrate negotiations between two American powers, and urged as an unanswerable objection the principle of the Monroe doctrine. But, unfortunately, he was not sustained by the vigorous action of an Administration that assumed the reins of Government as the open and avowed champion of that noble and necessary policy. No one will pretend to deny, that the interposition of England and France to break

a perfectly legitimate compact—a treaty of commerce, with no unusual or novel stipulations—was a plain and almost unprecedented infringement of the law of nations, and a direct attack upon our sovereignty and independence. Nevertheless, up to the present moment, no single energetic measure has been instituted to seek redress. No excuse, apology, or semblance of explanation has been offered. Our rude expulsion from the key of the Caribbean sea reins in the same category of subdued, silent, and shameful submission, with the British seizure of the strong gates of our Honduras and Nicaragua routes to California and Oregon.

But we have another, and a far more aggravated, cause of complaint against England, and one of much longer standing. I allude to her secret, sinister, and persevering policy in reference to Cuba. The briefest glance at the map and marine charts is sufficient to prove, even by ocular demonstration, the natural and eternal connection of that beautiful island—the royal and radiant gem of the Antilles—with the development and destiny of our own progress and civilization throughout all the ages of coming time. It is seen to lie like a lovely infant by the side of a lovelier mother, reposing, as it were, in the very embraces of the mother. It almost kisses our shores. It flourishes in the shadow of our trees. The echoes of the morning gun that booms over the blue-tinted waters from the castle of the Spanish despot, vex the breeze and agitate the free aroma of flowers which every gentle breeze wafts from the Cape of Florida. It is the single key to the great oceanic gate of the world, the liquid highway from the Atlantic cities to the mouth of the Mississippi river—that ever-flowing, fresh-watered Mediterranean of America, the magnificent mother of so many States. And thus it is capable of being used, at any moment, as an unmountable barrier against the necessary transit of the two principal divisions of the Union. It adds now as a perpetual menace—a check upon our natural expansion, a danger to our interests, and perhaps to our very existence—a rankling thorn in our side, even in time of peace. It is possible, then, to estimate how perilous it must prove in the case of war—with the incalculable length of its natural positions increased by all the skill of engineering art—with its numerous and spacious harbors, the best in the world, in the midst of which alone a thousand ships of the line might ride at ease, without anchor or cable, defiant and fearless of the tropical tempests.

These facts, and a variety of others equally important and applicable, which I shall not, at present, pause to enumerate, as being too generally known to require special mention, fully justify the opposition that, for the United States, the possession of Cuba is a great national desideratum. I cannot go as far as some do—as the famous Oxford conference, for instance. I cannot affirm that, for us, under all conceivable circumstances, the annexation of Cuba is a positive necessity. It is certainly very desirable, and from many most potent reasons. It is ours by the gift of God and nature, by contiguity and collocation, and by the strongest sanctions of the law of nations, because it is dangerous to our peace and safety while in other hands than our own. All this I concede and be-

lieve; but necessity implies more than this—that we must have it, and cannot even exist as an independent people without it. And this no one regards as true in any other than a rhetorical sense, *ad captandum* mobility, in which, indeed, it is always employed. For we have existed, and flourished, too, beyond all precedent in the history of the world, without the conjunction of that charming island. There is one contingency, however, in which the possession of Cuba might be almost, or perhaps quite, a national necessity; and in which we would be justified in seizing it by force, on the principle of precaution for self-preservation. I allude to the case of a rational probability of its transfer to any one of the leading European Powers. On that supposition, the danger to the United States would be so imminent as to require an immediate resort to arms for its prevention, at every cost and at all hazards. And I propose to show in the sequel, that the probability stated is neither remote nor imaginary, but a very near and menacing reality. Nevertheless, until it becomes present, palpable, and, as it were, overwhelming, I would not have the country plunged into the fiery vortex of war; because, as I think, we have as effectual, yet pacific, means to avert the calamity.

It is urged by the European diplomatists, and re-echoed in this hemisphere, that we can offer no sufficient argument for the acquisition of Cuba; that, as the visible key to the Gulf of Mexico is held by the impotent and unwarlike Government of Spain, with no naval force to shut that ocean gate, therefore, we have nothing to fear, either in peace or war.

This objection would be entirely relevant, and indeed decisive, if the assumption were true, as stated. But I deny the facts in general, and in every particular. I deny that the Spanish is the real power predominant on the island. Far otherwise. I stand prepared to show, to convince the most skeptical, that Cuba is as much under the control of Great Britain as her impregnable capital of Lower Canada. I assert and can demonstrate, that by a long series of insidious approaches, England has, at last, got the beautiful queen of the Antilles by the throat, and that the ruthless gripe will never be relinquished, at least voluntarily, until her bleeding victim lies writhing and dying in the dust suffocated by a million negro hands! I affirm that this is a principle of English policy as fixed and immovable as the polar star, and that she has stealthily but steadily pursued it for more than the quarter of a century.

Interrogate the facts. As early as 1817, Great Britain effected a treaty with Spain for the ostensible purpose of suppressing the slave trade, the stipulations to be enforced from the year 1820. It does not become me, nor is it suited to my taste, to question the motives which primarily dictated the measure. They may have been sufficiently pure and praiseworthy at first; but whatever generous sparks of philanthropy may have warmed or illumined the birth of the political bantling, the liberal fire has long ago been smothered out by diplomatic craft and schemes of selfish aggrandizement. By the compact to which I have alluded, England and Spain established the "mixed commission," as it was called, in which

both Powers were equally represented, and which possessed the high authority to determine, without appeal, what negroes had been introduced into Cuba in violation of the treaty, and consequently, what blacks were entitled to their freedom. *Prima facie*, this provision did not appear unjust, irrational, or in any degree dangerous. But mark the sequel. The negroes pronounced free were not to be restored to the enjoyment of their natural liberty, not returned to their native land on the shores of Africa. On the contrary, they were doomed by this very same mixed commission, to the worst, the most cruel species of slavery ever invented or ever imagined, under the mild and merciful name of apprenticeship. Whenever a human cargo was captured in the vicinity of the island, or discovered after being landed, they were turned over to the Captain-General to be articulated out for a term of years, under the transparent pretext of undergoing a pupilage and preparation for the final state of freedom, but in reality for the purpose of coiling an infrangible chain around the bosom of Cuba—to bind her hand and foot in helpless, hopeless subjection to the domination of England.

Was not this a splendid scheme of philanthropy, so pure in theory, so politic in fact? What critic could be so cruel as to find fault with a plan of abolition at once so generous, so philosophic, so prudent, which provided a system of culture and education for freedom before it was to be realized? All very well; but better than all, it proved a most profitable speculation. It put money in the pockets of the projectors. For every negro apprenticed out by the Captain-General, that disinterested and philanthropic functionary received a golden gratuity of from fifty to one hundred dollars, as a premium on the contract. Thus high was the privilege of wardship over the savages of Africa estimated by their Creole and European guardians. Nor need any one be surprised at the magnitude of this bonus, nor at the liberality of the masters who paid it, nor yet at the enormous annual revenue derived from that source by the Spanish Governors; because the apprenticeship, as all the parties concerned well knew, was virtually an agreement for life. The only nominal *emancipados* and their children melted away, and became undistinguishably lost in the great mass of the servile population. Not one in ten thousand ever again heard another faint or far-off whisper of the word "liberty."

But why, it may be asked, should the Government of England sanction such a system of wanton wickedness and unblushing hypocrisy? Can any one entertain the shadow of a doubt as to the so obvious reason? This device of organized imperial outrage and wrong gave her that irresistible weight, and terrible political supremacy, which she now possesses over the island. By virtue of the treaty, she claims the legal protectorate of half a million apprentices, all barbarous blacks, on whose complete emancipation she can insist at any moment which may suit her caprice or convenience. This is the fiery sword which she holds suspended, *in terrorem*, over impotent and cringing Spain, as well as over the appalled and shuddering Creoles.

Under such circumstances, it cannot be a matter of surprise that the scheme, instead of repressing, tended to stimulate and enlarge the activities of the traffic in slaves, since it interested all parties in the extension and continuance of that accursed commerce. It cheapened the price of negroes for the Cuban masters; it filled to plethora the coffers of the Captain-General; and, more than all, it favored the policy of England to absolute ascendancy on the island. We have seen the rationale—now behold the result. England to-day, or any day when she chooses, possesses the power to speak one word mightier than magic, to roll back the wheels of our destiny, to arrest the velocity of our progress—nay, to shake on their deepest foundations the strongest and most enduring pillars of our Republic: and that word, more dreadful than war, pestilence, or famine, is the Africanization of Cuba! Such is the end; and can any intelligent mind, having traced the means by which it has been accomplished, doubt for an instant that it accords with her intention, and is the ripe fruit of her sleepless sagacity? I would not censure unjustly, or with too much severity, the conduct or character of any Government, abroad or at home. I deem nations entitled to the courtesies of civil speech, and the amenity and moderation of an impartial judgment on their actions, as much as individuals; but I cannot forbear stating it as my humble, yet deliberate, opinion, that the insidious course of English aggression, in reference to Cuba, has no parallel either on the pages of Roman perfidy, or in the darker annals of Panic faith.

Nor can it be pretended, by way of apology, with the least show of plausibility, that England has managed and manœuvred to gain this impregnable vantage ground with no design to its ultimate practical use. On the contrary, it seems to be her unwavering purpose to employ it on the first suitable occasion, and without stint or mercy. She has even taken the initiatory steps, whenever an opportunity appeared to offer. It is notorious that the Captain General, Pezuela, was in the very act of yielding to her urgent solicitations, when the tempest of popular indignation burst forth among the Cuban creoles, inaugurating the brief and sudden revolution which led to the banishment of the lamented Lopez. The signs and proofs of this conspiracy against civilization and in favor of bloody and brutal barbarism were both numerous and cogent. In submissive obedience to the mandates of his imperial ally and master, the complaisant governor repealed the laws forbidding intermarriage betwixt the free and servile races. Disgusting blacks and insolent half-breeds were received with distinguished eclat and cordiality at the official levees of the vice-royal palace. And the lowest slaves, in hasty anticipation of the promised equality to be consummated under the new regime of amalgamation, began to exercise the insulting privilege of bowing to the most beautiful white ladies in the streets, and of paying their respects even in the boudoir. Comment on such gross and unnatural indecencies is as needless as it would be offensive and cruel.

Nor were these the only or the most malignant indications of the English intrigue. The rigorous and despotic censorship that controls the Cuban

press exceeds anything known or recorded under the mental tyranny of the dark ages. Not a line or paragraph, not so much as an advertisement for the sale of a horse at public auction, can find a place in the journals without first passing through the fiery ordeal of a jealous criticism, and obtaining the approval of the Government. When, therefore, every newspaper in the island opened a discussion on the topic of slavery, and endeavored to surpass each other in eulogizing the benefits of free labor; when floods of pamphlets were poured around the country, instituting highly-colored comparisons betwixt the relative prosperity of Kentucky and Ohio, much in the same style of argument as we hear the point exhibited on this floor; then the whole Creole population took the alarm, fully conscious that their doom had been pronounced, and determined, if possible, to prevent the execution by the overthrow of the pro-consular despotism under which they had so long writhed and suffered. Their organization, with that view, embraced every native patriot in Cuba. But, although they received the warmest sympathy and some partial aid from the citizens of the United States, the American Administration threw its weight on the side of the tyrants, in direct opposition to the ardent wishes and dearest interests of our own people; and the heroic enterprise of Lopez miscarried. The glittering gem of the Antilles, which had so nearly been snatched away forever from the quivering crown of Spain, was restored to its place, though covered with blood and bitter tears.

Nevertheless, the effort had not proved altogether vain and unavailing. It terrified the Spanish Government, and suspended, for a time, the intrigues of England. What might have been predicted before was now self-evident: the physical and moral impossibility of Africanizing Cuba, without the utter extermination of all its white inhabitants; for this is the true and tremendous alternative wherever the two races exist together in any considerable numbers. Nature has separated them by lines so deeply marked and strongly colored as to render every idea of practical equality between them the wildest of all conceivable political delusions. Reason revolts, the heart shudders, the inmost soul sickens at the bare conception.

Things remained *in statu quo* until the election of General Pierce, when the people of Cuba, in common with the friends of human freedom throughout the world, hailed that auspicious event as the bright dawning of a new and glorious day in the annals of progress and liberal opinions. Nor was this feeling of jubilant and general joy discouraged, or in any degree chastised by the splendid promises of that eloquent inaugural, which created a whirlwind of enthusiasm, such as never before hailed the inspiring words of any, even the most popular and powerful President. Indeed, there seemed to be ample cause for such universal, hopeful, triumphant gratulation. For everywhere, but more especially in the southern States, the question of Cuban liberation had formed one of the chief and strongest issues in the canvass. I myself did battle almost exclusively on that high and fortified ground in the department of Texas. And now,

when the victory had been gained, and the new Administration came into power amidst the blaze of a sun-burst of glowing, unprecedented popularity, its first official declaration appeared to justify all the wishes and expectations of the great progressive party whose influence and suffrages had given it the ascendancy.

Immediately, as if by enchantment, the revolutionary clubs were reorganized all over the Island of Cuba, the movement including all the Creole population. They collected money in almost fabulous profusion, and dispatched it to their leaders and allies in the United States. A systematic plan of action was devised that could not possibly have failed of entire success, had it not been for the extraordinary and unaccountable conduct of that very Power on which the patriots most confidently relied. I mean our own Government. They counted with certainty, as they and all the world besides thought they had a right to count, upon the sympathy and tacit approval, or, at least, upon the neutrality of the Administration at Washington; and acting under this fatal delusion, their *Junta* from New York hastened to pay their respects at the Federal city. They were received with the greatest kindness and courtesy, and greeted with encouraging cordiality by the President. But it was Secretary Marcy who tendered them the warmest welcome, and signified a virtual confirmation of their highest hopes. To him they made the frank and full revelation of their plan for the redemption of their native land. And now mark well the reply of the politic premier—the answer which will yet be inscribed on the records of history—"The people want Cuba, and the Administration, as the servants of the people, must carry out their wishes!"

Deceived by this apparently plain and unequivocal official sanction, the exultant and enthusiastic Creoles unwisely dismissed their usual prudence, and disclosed all the *minute*, even the *modus operandi* of their schemes, retaining only some personal facts which might dangerously implicate individuals. But of these, too, there is reason to believe the American Government resolved to obtain possession. A short time afterwards, a mysterious emissary appeared in the Island of Cuba, claiming to be a commissioner of the United States, and authorized to confer with the chiefs of the revolutionary party. In that definite character, this extraordinary agent was introduced to the principal and central club at Havana, and by the American consul of the port. No one doubted—indeed, the most scrupulous or skeptical could not well doubt that he was accredited as stated; and as a natural consequence he mastered every remaining secret of the organization, of a personal as well as of a political nature. The fortunes of Cuba—nay, the very liberties and lives of its brave defenders, were completely at his mercy, and, perhaps, that of the Administration.

The emissary having accomplished his purpose, whatever that might be, and whether good or evil, disappeared from the island, returning, as it may fairly be supposed, to his master at Washington. At all events, instantly, and as unexpectedly, a wonderful change came over the spirit of Mr. Marcy's political dream. His Cuban sympathy

exhaled away like morning dews before the sun-beam. The *Junta* were coolly informed that nothing could be done, or even tolerated, in favor of their policy. One member of the Cabinet objected, that they had not chosen the proper man to lead the movement. Pompous proclamations thundered against the piratical filibusters, who had proved themselves so very piratical by the election of General Pierce; while swift-sailing frigates and steamers of war were dispatched in all haste, to intercept any ill-starred expedition which might depart from our ports to alarm the castles, or disturb the luxurious ease and quiet of the proconsular tyrant.

However, had the *dénouement* of the singular drama ended here, its perfidy might, by a great stretch of clemency, have been excused, or, perchance, pardoned. But, alas! simultaneously with the apostasy of the Administration, and the magical metamorphosis of its placid, approving smiles for the most ominous frowns of anger and aversion, an unexampled tragedy of blood and terror was opened on the stage of Cuba. All the plans of the revolutionary organization were communicated to the delighted ears of the Captain-General. Even a list of names containing those of all the leading and most illustrious patriots was laid on his table. As an inevitable result, the discovery thoroughly aroused the fury of the wild beast. The chiefs of the contemplated enterprise—all who might be considered dangerous to the existing despotism by their wealth, talents, or influence—all whose known opinions or suspected proclivities rendered them in any degree odious to the truculent tyrant and his pitiful tools—all who had friends or relatives engaged in the glorious scheme of popular liberation, were subjected, without delay or discrimination, to the horrors of a ruthless and unrelenting persecution—were robbed, ruined, garoted, and many of them exposed to tortures of refined cruelty, and to imprisonment in perpetuity, a doom worse than the most painful and ignominious death. Nor did the general and crushing blow fall alone, or spend its infuriate force on the stronger or more resolute sex. The beautiful dark-eyed daughters of Cuba had been ardent enthusiasts in the great cause of independence. They had stripped the golden bracelets from their fairy arms—had torn the starry jewels from the wreaths of their raven hair, to purchase weapons and munitions of war for the great work of their country's redemption. And they, too, must suffer the penalty. To-day—oh! foul blot on the printed page of modern civilization—indelible disgrace and fiery shame to the solemn mockeries of Spanish justice—these lovely heroines, who deserved statues of monumental marble, pure and white as the unsunned snow fresh fallen from its native heaven, and eternal as the hills from which the granite of their glory should be hewed by the hand of some divine artist—yes, to day, at this very instant, these angels of liberty, in the most fascinating forms of bewitching womankind, are clanking their heavy chains in the depth and darkness of Spanish dungeons! And all these atrocious wrongs and outrages resulted from treachery as atrocious, and far more criminally revolting. But who was the traitor? What wretch insinuated himself into Creole confi-

dence to spy out and sell their secrets—to give the best blood of their fathers and brothers to the garote, and the beauty of their wives and sisters to the keeping of brutal jailers? Shuddering humanity asks the question. Shall it remain without an answer?

For myself, I shall accuse no one. The crime, whoever may have been the perpetrator, stands almost alone and isolated in the annals of human infamy, and seems so stupendous as almost to stagger belief. In surveying the magnitude and superlative meanness of such an offence, one needs guard his most just and generous impulses from undue excitement to the perversion and discolouring of his calm, collected reason. I cannot, therefore, assume the onerous responsibility of the arraignment or prosecution of the gigantic political felon. I will not even draw the first count of the indictment. I will only state the fact, and let it pass for what it may be worth, that the Creoles themselves, who have been so terribly aggrieved by the treachery, and who ought, perhaps, to be esteemed the best judges in the case, lay all the guilt at the door of the office appropriated to the high functions of the Secretary of State; and they urge in proof of the grave and aggravated charge, the circumstances which I have previously detailed, especially the mission of the secret agent sent, or said to be sent, from Washington to Havana, and the sudden, unlooked-for, and inexplicable change of tone and spirit in the Federal Cabinet towards the friends of Cuban freedom, that occurred about that time. They allege, moreover, that no citizen of the island could have made the fatal revelation to the ears of the Captain-General, as none deserted the patriotic cause, and none was promoted to honor or influence—the rewards which must surely have been accorded to profitable perfidy. These cruel accusers go even further, and boldly assert, that from the first, the pretended sympathy of the Secretary was an affected sham and delusion to obtain the possession of their plans, and turn common informer for the benefit of the Spanish court—in short, that he played the part of a diplomatic Judas to kiss and betray them.

Such is the nature of the charge. But although the circumstantial evidence tending to support the conclusion, has almost, if not quite, the strength of what lawyers term a natural presumption, the moral treason supposed is so transcendent that I cannot bring myself to give it credit. And yet, the probability is too strong for utter disbelief. The mind, therefore, remains in a state of equilibrium, suspended in the centre of a logical circle, betwixt two presumptions equally violent, and apparently irresistible. But I am always inclined to adopt the most charitable construction of a criminal case. And I think that the merciful supposition would be, that the transformation of the Secretary's ideas and intentions in reference to Cuban liberation, was a real metempsychosis—one of those instantaneous and astonishing oscillations of policy which have so remarkably distinguished the present Administration. I do not deny that even this hypothesis is burdened with great objections. It still leaves unsolved the sunless mystery, the dark riddle of the veiled and monstrous sphinx—the mission of the secret spy, or emissary,

introduced by the American consul to the revolutionary club at the port of Havana.

I am, however, less disposed to press this branch of the general accusation, as the Secretary must be pronounced guilty beyond all question on the remainder. He never should have ventured the explicit encouragement of Cuban liberation; or, having so ventured, he should have kept his pledge in the teeth of every contingency. And it is because he wavered and wandered from the lofty purpose, so dear to every American heart, that the beautiful queen of the Mexican Gulf lies to-day a bleeding and helpless victim, loaded with fetters and trampled in the dust beneath the scornful feet of a feeble despot.

There has been another and somewhat similar allegation uttered against the same exalted functionary in a far different quarter, which seems to confirm, and which, if properly substantiated, would entirely explain, the charge of the Cuban Creoles. It will be remembered that, just before the sitting of the convention which nominated General Pierce, Mr. Marcy arrogated to himself a high degree of credit for having harmonized the rival factions of the New York democracy. It is now said, however, and, so far as I am informed, the fact has not been publicly or authoritatively disputed, that he effected the hollow and short-lived coalition by pledging himself solemnly to the Free-soil party, that in the event of his own nomination and election to the presidential honors, or in case he should receive a Cabinet appointment, he would oppose, to the last extremity, every measure for the annexation of Cuba, as well as all efforts for the extension of our territories in a southern direction. I do not vouch for the truth of this statement; but, admitting its verity, it would furnish a key for the solution of his very problematic conduct in the Cuban policy, as well as in the matters pertaining to Central America and San Domingo. At all events, without incurring any imputation as to the want of common charity or legislative courtesy, I may be permitted to deprecate and deplore the results of the Secretary's diplomacy. Behold, then, the startling fact, the naked and undeniable reality! We assert the political *dictum* of the Monroe doctrine. We cherish it as a sacred principle, delightful to our feelings, and needful to our safety. Well, so it is—all that, and a great deal more. But here, directly before our doors, within the sweep of our telescopes, if not within the circuit of our natural vision—in Cuba—in clear and tangible violation and open defiance of the Monroe dogma, Great Britain has introduced, under the pretext and cover of the mixed commission, more than half a million of the most dangerous colonists that ever set foot upon continent or island, and there she complacently holds them, as the blind and unreflecting instruments of her will, as a perpetual menace and terror to our people. Besides, since the inchoate and ineffectual revolutions, her power has actually become supreme over the Spanish Government, over the Captain-General, and over the cringing Creoles. There is no force of any name or nature left in Cuba to resist her pleasure. Spain looks to British protection for the security of the last American jewel in her crumbling crown; while the unhappy natives of

the island, since the rude and treacherous treatment which they have experienced at our hands, can have neither faith nor hope in the United States.

For my own part, I do not envy either the national pride or the patriotism of the man who can calmly contemplate the contingency of a war with Great Britain, while Cuba stands in its present condition. The island would instantly, and *ipso facto*, be turned into a British possession, as much so as Jamaica, or the fortress of Gibraltar. We should see, in a moment, what Power had the authority to close the great gate of the Mexican Gulf against our commerce and all our communications. The strong harbor of Havana would be transmuted into a British naval station whence tall admirals, and terrible steamers, the iron-ribbed monsters of the deep, would issue forth to attack our trade, and to thunder destruction on all our shores. I do not exaggerate or paint, for rhetorical effect, a suppositious or remote probability. I affirm the fact, well known to all the world, that for every practical purpose, England wields to-day a far greater power in Cuba than she does in Canada; because, in the one case, it is exercised over a people thoroughly penetrated with the genius of light, intelligence, and freedom; but in the other, over an imbecile Government, and millions of ignorant slaves, savage and brutal blacks, from the wilds of Africa. These, to the enormous number of thirteen hundred thousand, are the fondled and favored wards of England, while the whites amount to little more than a third of that sum. And those bloody barbarians England can arouse and arm whenever she chooses, for the utter extermination of every Creole in the island. It is no marvel, then, if Cuba trembles and writhes in the dust, appalled with horror in the presence of this ghastly phantom, or that she stretches forth her beautiful but bleeding hands in the crisis and extremity of her mortal peril, imploring humbly, earnestly, almost madly, for help and succor from the only people on the globe who can avert her doom. Turn not away, O! turn not away, my country, that forlorn yet lovely mourner from your threshold, but grant her cordially, liberally, and seasonably, that sympathy, and moral, or, if necessary, material assistance, which justice, generosity, and every consideration of humanity and self-interest, alike require in the case.

But there is another region of the earth of far greater surface than the island of Cuba, and as intimately connected with our welfare—a territory continuous by an immense line with the southwestern limit of the Union, where the intrigues and interference of both England and France, though more covert, have been equally insidious and unwarrantable. It will be understood, at once, that I refer to Mexico, that enchanted land of gorgeous mines and jeweled mountains, whose beautiful scenery, and strange, stirring annals, are alike tinted with the hues of a wild and wondrous romance. That vast country, equivalent in extent to the fourth of Europe, or nearly two-thirds of the United States, stretching far away, as it does, through twenty-seven degrees of north latitude, and reaching on the one side, the Titan's bowl of the Mexican bay, on the other

the golden gulf of California, and the bright waters of the Pacific ocean, is fitted, by reason of countless circumstances, to awaken curiosity, and inspire the deepest interest in American bosoms. The variety of its genial climates; the value and profusion of its natural products; the almost fabulous abundance of its mineral wealth, yielding more silver than the rest of the world besides, and its immediate contiguity to our borders, all combine to identify its prosperity and progress with our own. We could not, even if we would, affect apathy or feel indifference as to the course of its destiny as an independent Power. And yet, without undue presumption, I may be allowed to say that a singular degree of ignorance exists in the popular mind in relation to Mexican affairs. Even a certain class of politicians, whenever the subject is referred to, treat it with scorn, choosing to consider that neighboring nation as a society of semi-savages, incapable of self-government, or indeed of any stable or successful government at all—a people under the everlasting rule of anarchy and revolutions, as inconstant and uncontrollable as the very volcanoes of the burning soil where they have been born.

Now, I must declare my utter dissent from any such a partial and prejudiced, though plausible, view. I believe the grand mass of the Mexican population to be as docile and tamable under the reign of legitimate authority as any subjects on the globe. Indeed, their main characteristic and fault, as a race, seems to be an excessive facility of submission to every species of domination. To what origin, then, it will be asked, must we attribute their endless and sanguinary insurrections? The unfortunate source of all that strife and disorder, as I apprehend, will be found in the ambition of the monarchical faction, always powerful in Mexico, and in the cunning intrigues of European potentates. And the briefest glance at the pages of Mexican history will fully demonstrate the proposition. It must never be forgotten that the original revolution in Mexico was not purely or principally a struggle for political freedom, so much as for independence of race and sovereign nationality. The colonial government, during nearly three centuries of oppression and misrule, had not tended to infuse among the people any ideas of civil liberty. All the viceroys, with a single exception, were of Spanish birth. Every post of honor, or of profit, in the gift of the Crown, devolved on Europeans. No path of preferment in the church, the law, or the army, was open for a Mexican, or even for a Spaniard Mexican-born. The colonists were strictly forbidden to manufacture any article that the mother country could furnish—to cultivate the vine or olive, to establish schools, or teach even the science of mathematics; as they were told, in the language of the Spanish Government, by an official declaration, "That learning did not become colonies!" The viceregal palace displayed a splendor of riches and extravagance which might have shamed the glittering pageants of imperial courts, the revenues being continually supplied by legalized plunder. Through this policy arose a privileged *caste*, widely separated from the aboriginal inhabitants, as well as from the Mexican Span-

iards, in feelings, habits, and permanent interests. Nevertheless, there was no attempt at rebellion or revolution for three hundred years; and the fact affords an unanswerable refutation of the idle theory that the Mexicans are, by nature and constitutional temperament, an ungovernable race. No branch of the Anglo-Saxon or Celtic families would have endured, for a single month, what they suffered for so many long centuries of tyranny and torture. However, it could not be expected that such a system would last forever. But when the revolution did occur, it came, not as might have been naturally anticipated, from the awakened spirit or strong sense of injustice, or from the aroused passions of a crushed and vindictive population; on the contrary, the first flames of insurrection and civil war were kindled by dissensions in the Spanish party itself. The causes which led to the event are well known matters of history. In 1808, the great Napoleon, from the summit of the Pyrenees, hurled an irresistible avalanche of his victorious legions into the heart of Old Spain, sweeping away its effete and impotent dynasty, and settling the crown upon the head of his brother Joseph. When the astounding news of their monarch's dethronement reached the city of Mexico, the viceroy warmly solicited the aid of the people in support of their ancient and legitimate line of sovereigns; and they as eagerly responded to the flattering appeal with boundless and enthusiastic professions of fidelity and attachment. A feeling of sympathy and kindness grew up between the Government and the Creoles; and as a further means of conciliation, a congress was instituted, to be composed of deputies from the different provinces.

But this measure met with vehement opposition from the European Spaniards, as being an infringement of their hereditary rights, and a flagrant derogation from the prerogatives of the Crown. Accordingly, the court of the *Audiencia*, the highest tribunal in the country, to defeat the popular project, seized and imprisoned the Viceroy himself, with all his principal friends and adherents; and the Europeans, having organized what they were pleased to term "patriotic associations," in defence of their exclusive and tyrannical privileges, everywhere took up arms to put down the Creoles. And that was the cloudy dawn—the first dark day of the Revolution. The violent and arrogant severity of the *Audiencia* increased the habitual hatred of the natives, so long before entertained towards their European masters, until at length the immortal parish priest, Hidalgo, raised the standard of open insurrection in the little town of Dolores. The rumor of the movement was received generally with intense satisfaction. The warlike curate, Morelos, rivaled the patriotic devotion of his religious brother; and the flames of rebellion, if such a word might be applied to a nation battling for their natural liberties, at once extended to all the provinces. From that date, until 1818, the contest raged with various extraordinary changes of fortune, when the revolution appeared to be extinguished, both Hidalgo and Morelos having in the mean time, suffered a barbarous death at the hands of the merciless foe, and their heroic successor, Victoria,

being then an abandoned and solitary exile in the wildest recesses of the mountains.

The country now remained under the galling yoke of despotism until 1820, when the constitutional Government established in Spain, produced in Mexico a very different effect from what might well have been predicted. A more liberal system of administration and greater freedom of the electoral franchise were generously granted to the Provinces. But again, as in the former instance, these acts of grace and justice provoked a bitter and clamorous opposition; and again, the resistance and aggression originated with the old Spanish and monarchical faction. Besides, the European Spaniards were divided among themselves; some avowing their preference for the constitution, while others declared in favor of the ancient *regime*. An attack on the property of the Church alienated the clergy from the new authority; and the Viceroy, Apodaca, being encouraged by the intrigues of the royalists in Europe, although he had sworn allegiance to the present political order, joined in a general conspiracy for its overthrow. Iturbide was the persons elected to offer the first open demonstration against the existing Government, and for the restoration of the former despotism, both in Church and State; and to that end, the Viceroy appointed him to the command of a large army on the western coast. But the agent departed widely from the wishes of his principal. Instead of pronouncing for Spanish absolutism, as he had promised, he put forth a scheme of his own, the famous "plan of Iguala," declaring that Mexico should be an independent nation, its religion Catholic, and the Government a constitutional monarchy; the crown to be conferred on Ferdinand VII. of Spain, provided he would consent to a personal occupation of the throne.

Although historical scrutiny has not yet been enabled to fathom the secret motives which influenced Iturbide in his splendid project beneath the thick veil thrown so carefully around it, the statesman's eye can perceive the cunning hand of English policy working darkly. However, the Viceroy was speedily deposed; and so soon as they became satisfied of Iturbide's sincerity in erecting the signal of independence, Guerrero and Victoria, with all the survivors of the original insurgents, and large detachments of Creole troops, rallied to his standard. This fact proves incontestably that the great object, the sole aim of the Mexican revolutionists was not civil liberty—of which they had scarcely any conception—but rather the realization of Mexican nationality, to which they have always been so vehemently devoted.

A Congress soon assembled, and presented, in the division of opinion among its members, three powerful parties. The Bourbonists, adhering to the plan of Iguala; the Republicans desiring a confederation of free States; and the Iturbidists, who sought the elevation of their favorite general. Here we see two-thirds of the national deputies, fresh from the people, and just as they had emerged from the fiery furnace of the revolution, manifesting a decided preference for the forms of monarchy. But an event, altogether unexpected, destroyed the hopes of the Bourbonists. The

Spanish Government, with that perverse and incurable stupidity by which it has been so long and so pre-eminently distinguished, spurned the plan of Iguala, and refused the compromise that would have given a son of Spain an American crown.

One cannot forbear remarking what incalculable blessings and benefits the folly of some obstinate or silly nation may unintentionally confer upon others. How different must have been the destinies of these United States, if the policy of the Mexican Bourbonists had been adopted by the Spanish court! A European Power, in fraternity with all the despots of the Old World, and under the special protectorate of England, would have been stationed as a giant sentinel to warn us away from the Southwest. There would have been no annexation of the rich cotton fields of Texas, no settlement of Oregon, and no culmination of California's golden star. But what wild, wasting wars, what European interference, and intrigues, what armaments sailing at the mandate of the Holy Alliance, to conquer the force and quench the light of our dangerous example, might there not have been!

The Spanish faction, hopeless of a Bourbon, after the negative of Spain, and favoring any name or semblance of despotism sooner than liberal government, went over to the party of Iturbide, and he was proclaimed Emperor. But Santa Anna, formerly one of his firmest supporters, joined an extensive conspiracy against him, overturned his brief authority, and in 1824, the provinces became united in a federal republic. Nevertheless, the old monarchical faction, though grievously wounded, was far from being dead, and two years subsequently it revived to fresh life and activity in a most novel and unprecedented form. The masonic societies then extremely numerous in Mexico, separated into two opposing parties, under the titles of the *Escoques* and *Yorkinos*, or the Scotch and the York lodges. The first, of Scottish origin, embraced the large proprietors, men of the greatest wealth, aristocratic in opinion, and inclined to the establishment of a powerful government, and especially all the partisans of a Bourbon dynasty. The Yorkinos, whose organization had been founded by the New York masons, through the agency of Mr. Poinsett, the envoy of the United States, advocated Democracy in opposition to both a central and a royal government, and urged, as the only means of permanently pacifying the country, the forcible expulsion of all the European Spanish residents.

Thus early we behold the subtle intrigues of English policy, developed in the bosom of Mexican politics. And it is worthy of particular remembrance, that the first violent breach of the law, and palpable treason to the Government, proceeded from the Scotch faction, when, in 1827, Don Manuel Montano published at Otumba a plan for the insurrectionary reformation of the constitution. Civil war followed, with its ravages, robberies, and scenes of bloodshed too horrible for description, until Santa Anna's final desertion from the Republican party in 1834. Then, the unconquerable spirit of liberty was kept alive nowhere in the vast territories of Mexico, save in the previously paltry and unimportant provinces of

Texas, and there it proved to be invincible and immortal.

To the succeeding events of public Mexican history I need not allude, as they belong in a manner to the annals of our own country. I will only add one startling fact, which is capable of incontrovertible proofs, that the old European and Bourbon faction is still in as vigorous existence as ever; and that very lately, even since the American occupation of the Mexican capital, French intrigues have been busy with that party for the enthronement of a European potentate. The scheme was briefly this—the marriage of Queen Christina, of Spain, to prince Napoleon, and the inauguration of their joint reign over the Mexican people. In historical justice, however, I am compelled to state, that Santa Anna strenuously objected to the Bonaparte branch of the project, alleging that, as he himself was the Napoleon of the West, he should be deemed entitled to imitate a Napoleonic example—that he would, therefore, put away his antiquated and withered wife, and wed the Spanish woman, as his great prototype did her of Austria; and thus he would acquire a legitimate right to don the imperial diadem of Spanish succession in the golden halls of the Montezumas! All this sounds romantic, or ridiculous, as some myth of the middle ages; and yet it is a sober and ominous reality.

The imperfect sketch and epitome of Mexican history which I have exhibited, shows conclusively that the anarchy and revolution which have so fearfully afflicted that unhappy country, did not, in any instance, spring from the great body of the people. The storms of civil war agitated the surface, but never extended to the depths, or touched the centre of society. All of them, without exception, began and ended with the European or Creole Spaniards; while the aggression and grievance always came from the faction of monarchy, incited and stimulated by foreign influence, or provoked by the dissatisfaction of the clergy. I do not desire to say anything offensive to any man's conscience, or to intimate anything injurious to any system of worship. I regard the discussion of religious subjects as much out of place in the legislative hall as the profane preaching of politics in the pulpit, so strangely in fashion of late. Religion is exclusively a matter between man, as an immortal and spiritual being, and the Deity whom he is graciously permitted to adore; and no tribunal or authority on the earth has a right to scan or criticise that sacred and unsearchable relation. But when this divine institution, the eldest and most beautiful offspring of Heaven, descends from its dignity, and desecrates its holiness in the pollutions of secular and sinful excitement, it loses its celestial prerogative of exemption from impugnement, and becomes fairly amenable to human censure.

The main objection to the clerical order in Mexico is not because it is Catholic, but because it is political, the most powerful and grinding mental despotism that ever was established under the sun. It has no just claim to the character of catholic at all, or in any rational sense. As early as 1502, the King of Spain was constituted head of the American church, to the entire exclusion

of all separate spiritual jurisdiction, or even appellate supremacy, on the part of the Roman pontiff. Under this unnatural and Asiatic system of religious domination, devised to secure the civil tyranny of the Spanish Government, the people were subjected to a species of intellectual slavery unparalleled in the annals of the world. Their ignorance, idolatry, and almost brutal superstition, rivalled even the frenzied follies of the most unenlightened pagan lands. The awful weight of a political despotism pressed every sentiment of freedom into the earth; while the fierce hand of religious intolerance shut the gates of heaven against all humanity that would not purchase a passage to its glory by gold. Like railroad tickets, seats were sold for Paradise, but only to the bigoted and the blind. So that now, for more than three centuries, all power has been concentrated in the priesthood and in the army. The bell and the drum have been the only symbols of authority. Every insurrection has been proclaimed by the chimes of the one, or the roar of the other. No spontaneous movements, no explosive eruptions, as of outbreking volcanic and central fire, have proceeded from the masses, too deeply buried beneath mountains of cruel and stifling oppression.

Well, then, may I claim, on the strength of these facts, a full justification of my previous assertion, that the Mexican people are as easily governed as any variety of the human race. The proposition has also been demonstrated on the Rio Grande, in Texas, as well as in New Mexico, since the annexation of those regions to the United States. For in both the places mentioned, although nine-tenths of the inhabitants are pure Mexicans, and both are border countries, we yet hear of no anarchy, rebellion, bloodshed, or that climax of social disorder which, in Kansas, has disgraced the American name. But even if the truth were different, if the Mexican character were all that its worst enemies and most malignant revilers represent it to be, their deduction from the supposed premises would only appear as a more glaring *non sequitur*; since, upon every principle of humanity and self-interest, the greater would be the necessity of American interposition to ameliorate the dangerous misrule, and tame the savage instincts, of so near and mischievous a neighbor.

But what method of teaching should we adopt? Must we take up arms, and educate the ignorant and indocile population of Mexico at the cannon's mouth, or with the point of the bayonet? Or should we send troops of filibusters there, to instruct them in the philosophy of good manners, with bludgeon, bowie-knife, and revolver? I advocate no such measures. I do not belong to the political school that puts faith in brute force as a motive power of human civilization. I do not believe that communities can be dragged into religion, liberty, or the duties and privileges of self-government. In my opinion, we possess far higher and more efficacious means of interference for Mexican improvement. As the European courts, by their eternal intrigues, give moral aid and comfort to the faction of monarchy, so should we foster and cherish the Liberal and Republican party. We have the power to encourage and consolidate it by treaties, by commercial inter-

course, by kindness, and by all the efforts and energies of a consummate diplomatic skill.

Let no one urge, in response, the ridiculous fiction that such a course would tend to a collision with any great nation of Europe. No Government on the globe would dream of declaring war on a pretext so absurd. The European potentates assume, without question, the bold prerogative of defending and preserving the ascendancy and equilibrium of despotic institutions on the soil of the Old World. And shall we not be permitted to exercise the same right for the protection of republican principles in the New? Are we not, as well as they, sovereign and independent? Can we not form alliances, and cement relations of friendship with other equally sovereign communities, whenever and wherever we choose? Indeed, there are many and various ways by which we can insure the success of the Liberal party in Mexico. A splendid opportunity of the sort was unaccountably allowed to escape the present American Administration, when it paid away into hands, which transferred the money into the pockets of the treacherous tyrant, Santa Anna, three millions of gold; and that, too, in direct opposition to the just and powerful protest of the new and republican Government of Mexico, then in the hour of its greatest need. What folly and delusion was this! What favor to the faction of monarchy—what ungrateful discouragement and insult to our own political friends!

But there remains to be stated one mode of promoting the prosperity of Mexico, and of clasp- ing her to our bosom with arms of iron, durable as the everlasting hills—a pacific mode, to which no timorous politician at home, nor any insolent diplomatist abroad, can even conjure up the phantom of a plausible objection. Build the southern railroad to California. Run it straight along the great line that separates the two countries. Pass it through the low-lying gap of the giant Cordilleras, there where the very mountains bow down reverently, and recede, as if in anticipation, for the iron arches, and the transits of their lightning trains. Can the mightiest mathematical mind calculate the beneficial consequences of such a deed to the Mexican people? Even imagination fails to grasp the grandeur and glory of the destinies that might yet be theirs. The sun, which might behold the last rail fastened at San Francisco, or at the junction of the Gila and Colorado of the West, on the Gulf of California, would witness the first day of Mexican redemption. From the main trunk of that grand highway of America and of the world, metallic arms would stretch out and extend far away in every direction, to the silver mountains of Saltillo, and Chihuahua, and to the golden fields of Sonora, and the most distant South. American capital and enterprise would be invited with the warmest welcome to develop the resources of Mexican commerce, and to perfect the process of Mexican civilization; and never more in Mexico would be seen again the insidious intrigues of England; while never more would be heard the hateful terms of monarchy and the Bourbons. The articulation of such names would become impossible. It is by measures like these that the enlightened and Christian Governments of modern ages ought to push their conquests, and achieve their

triumphs, and not by jealous, vindictive, and ruinous wars. If, as declared by the Divine Teacher of humanity, it be more blessed to give than to receive, how infinite must be the national blessing, when every gift of a generous policy is a double benefaction—an equation of profit both to the recipients and the donors!

There is another and strictly philosophic reason why Mexico should always present a subject of anxious consideration for the wisdom and prudence of our most eminent statesmen. I allude to the natural tendency of population to expand in a southern direction. It is sometimes made a matter of complaint, and we have listened to it even on this floor, that all our acquisitions, or, as they are opprobriously styled, aggressions, have australized towards the tropics, while no annexations seem inclined to advance us any nearer to the ice of the Arctic circle. Such objectors must surely have forgotten their readings in history. All nations endowed with even savage liberty, or the power of free locomotion, are, and ever have been, urged towards the summer-lands of the South, by the influence of a law as vigorous and as universal as any passion of the human mind. The tide of emigration is repelled by the frozen snows of the wintry north, by its gloomy forests, the howling of its angry winds, and the thick-ribbed ice of its polar lakes. On the contrary, the eye as well as the imagination must always dwell with delight and enthusiasm on the fragrance, beauty, and emerald verdure of those sunny groves where the golden light lives forever on the grass, and the glory of fruit and flowers never fades from the green of the leaf which no frost withers. Hence all great migrations, when not diverted from their natural course of insuperable obstacles, have flowed, as nearly as might be, in the direction of the equator. Witness the multitudinous swarmings of the northern lives of the Tartars into China and Hindostan, of the ancient Scythians into Persia and Greece, and the inroads of the Goths, the Germans, the Huns, into all the provinces of the Roman Empire. Therefore, to ask our politicians and people to curb their desires and turn their attention from the orange gardens of Cuba, and the palmy fields of Mexico, to seek relief in the barren forests of Canada, or the black fogs of Newfoundland, is simply demanding that they should change the constitution of their nature and reverse the everlasting laws of liberty, and even of animal life.

I do not suggest or approve any invasive or compulsory advances towards the South. I only state a general fact which all prudent and sagacious statesmen should remember, apply and control, for the progress of civilization and the greatest good of the species. This natural tendency to austral expansion I would have regulated by a humane and systematic policy as generous as it should be just. I would direct it to the grand objects of a liberal commerce, and the glorious colonization of ideas and institutions rather than of men; and I would limit it exclusively to the natural right of expatriation.

In the different topics of foreign policy which I have previously examined, we have traced the uniform opposition of England as our constant antagonist. I must, however, admit a broad dis-

tion in this respect, between the English people and the Government of England. The former, by principle, feeling, habit, and the strongest motives, of self-interest, are, and, as I trust, ever will continue to be, our firmest friends—nay, our very kinsmen and brothers, by all the most holy ties of blood, religion, literature, and language; and every true patriot and intelligent philanthropist, every foe to autocratic rule, intolerance, and political barbarism, must deplore as the greatest, the most irremediable calamity that could befall the human species, a collision betwixt the two branches of the Anglo-Saxon family. It would postpone indefinitely, perchance forever, the prospects of universal liberty, and reverse, by the length of a thousand years, the march of progress in the true path of improvement and civilization. The bare spectacle would excite outbursts of diabolic laughter, bitter mockeries, and shouts of infernal glee, in all the courts of despotism throughout the world. The very bones of spiritual and temporal tyrants in the dust of the dark ages would rattle in their graves for joy! While classic Greece, beautiful but bowed down Italy, and bleeding Hungary, agonized with her recent wounds, and all the persecuted Democrats of Europe, and every lover of freedom on land and sea, would together weep tears of fiery torture, and veil their eyes from the appalling vision of sorrow and shame! I do not exaggerate. Imagination has no midnight colors dark enough to draw the horrors of the picture; nor can I entertain a doubt, that such is the general sentiment and opinion of both the English and the American people.

Unfortunately, the Government of England is deeply imbued with the spirit and views of an exclusive and intensely selfish aristocracy—a privileged and powerful class, the most jealously wedded to antiquated forms and obsolete policy, and, at the same time, the most pertinacious and unyielding to novel influences, of any now on the earth, or of which history has preserved the faintest record. Their prejudices seem to be hereditary, and all their principles, good as well as evil, follow the lawful line of descent, like their titles and estates. This order, at the epoch of the Revolution, conceived an idea of political and commercial antagonism to the United States, which all the lessons of subsequent experience, and even the clearest demonstrations of *a priori* reasoning, have not enabled them to unlearn. By some strange and unaccountable process of cogitation, imperceptible and intangible to the rules of ordinary logic, they appear to conjecture, or vaguely imagine, that American greatness can be nothing else but an arithmetical subtraction from English glory, and that every gain of ours is a positive loss to them. It is true, this very ridiculous and savage theory was sufficiently current during the dark and stupid ignorance of the feudal ages, when the aggrandizement of one country never failed to be considered the disgrace and ruin of all the rest; when destroying wars were undertaken for no other purpose than the preservation of the balance of trade, as they are now waged to keep stable the equilibrium of power. However, that mistaken and preposterous notion, the offspring of national jealousy, has long since been exploded, and by none more effectually than by the English writers them-

selves. Nevertheless, all in vain do the statistics of commerce, and all the wonderful facts of the last half century, proclaim that American and English prosperity sustain the immutable relation of logically necessary correlatives to each other; in vain do the English laboring and manufacturing classes, and the wisest of English statesmen, urge and prove the same great and well-nigh self-evident truth. The English Government remains incurably blind, or else perversely shuts its eyes to the light of all history, and even common sense—pretending not to see that the extension of American territory increases the area of the English market, and augments incalculably the number of English customers—that the annexation of Cuba, and even of Central America and the whole of Mexico, if such projects were entertained, (as they are not,) would be a virtual commercial annexation to England herself, and almost or quite as beneficial to her as to us. Yet the aristocratic order in Great Britain still pursue, as steadily as ever, the old, sightless path of their policy in reference to this country, in spite alike of reason, interest, and the earnest remonstrances of the English people. Their plan, from the first, has been to cut us off from the possibility of territorial extension towards the great Southwest—to encircle and hem us in with a strong cordon of military posts and colonial settlements—to vex and stun our ears with the music of that mighty drum which it is her imperial boast to roll around the world, beating time for the morning march of the ever-rising sun.

The English Government was preparing to seize the vast domain of Louisiana, when the quick discernment of Mr. Jefferson, and the consummate sagacity of Napoleon, defeated the scheme by a transfer to the United States. Had she succeeded, we would have been fenced in at the South, as well as on the North, by British possessions. It is difficult to realize, either in fact or fancy, all the consequences of such an event. The Union would have been cruelly compressed as betwixt the forces of the two gigantic arms; the one urging us away from the great lakes, and the other pushing us from the Gulf of Mexico. There could have been no space or opportunity for expansion. We never should have heard the names of such States as Missouri, Arkansas, Iowa, or Louisiana. There could have been no Territories of Minnesota, Kansas, Nebraska, Washington, Utah, or Oregon. For us, all the wide regions of the now rich and populous West, radiant with its brilliant stars, would have been either a dreary desert, or inhabited by an alien and adverse Power. The effect must have proved equally deplorable and disastrous on the eastern side of the Alleghany mountains. There would have been no lines of railroad, no lightning wires, to span the gulf of distance, stretching away from the Atlantic seaboard to the forests of Missouri, or even the prairies of Illinois. Boston, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, would have been petty and inconsiderable towns, and only New York would have numbered some fifty, or perhaps a hundred thousand people.

The brightest pages of our national annals would be blotted out, or rather, would never have been—all our victories on land, lake, or ocean, the conquests in Mexico, and the ascension of California's star. Even our mercantile marine, watched

everywhere by the tyrant of the seas, must have crept timidly around our own shores, engaged chiefly in coast commerce. New Orleans would have been a British capital; and the yawning mouths of British cannon would have commanded Natchez, Vicksburg, Memphis, and the *debouchure* of every large river that empties its waters into the great Mississippi. The height of St. Louis would have frowned on Illinois with huge fortifications as strong in proportion as those of Quebec or Gibraltar; and Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, Wisconsin, all our half of the immense western valley, that teeming mother of States, would have possessed no outlet to the highway of the ocean. And from this degrading destiny of fixed everlasting inferiority, we were rescued by the wisdom and firmness of the same grand mind, to whose wonderful intuitions and far-casting foresight, we also stand indebted for the Declaration of Independence, and the existence of the true Democratic idea in its purity and power.

But again: when the enterprise and prowess of our sons wrested the beautiful province of Texas from the mingled anarchy and despotism of Mexican misrule, faithful to her ancient policy of American repression, England immediately commenced her intrigues for the virtual control and supremacy over the fortunes of the new State. She exerted all the cunning of her diplomacy, proffered enormous commercial bribes, called in to aid her the authority of France, and protested and implored by turns, against the project of annexation. Her purpose, as ever, was to surround and hedge us in, to erect an impassable barrier against the march of American institutions in the direction of Mexico and the Isthmus of Panama.

Once more, that English policy was met and discomfited, not so much by the genius of American statesmen, as by the intuitive sagacity and the indomitable spirit of the American people, in accordance with the prudence and patriotism of the Texan politicians. And now, baffled in all her antecedent schemes for the forcible restraint of free institutions, like a drowning man, England catches at the straw of Central America. She would seize that as a bastioned fortification against the progress of American ideas and energies towards the regions of the equator; but this attempt must prove as vain as any of the others. Governments, however penetrating or potent they may be, have no strength or cunning to control the laws that determine the great tides of emigration, the geographical distribution of the human species on the earth's surface. By a calm and philosophical contemplation of the past, by a logical comparison of its unerring indications, by mastering the mathematical ratio of American progression, the clear English mind, if it had not been distracted and obscured by obsolete prejudices, might, long ago, have calculated the course of American destiny, with the same certainty of science which notes the precession of the equinoxes, or predicts future eclipses in the heavens.

America might, with confidence, appeal to the strong common sense of England herself, and inquire what she could have gained, what she can ever hope to gain, or what humanity and the great cause of liberal institutions could possibly, in any event, profit by the success of her chimerical pol-

icy of American repression? Would it not be a mortal blow to the most lucrative branch of her trade? Would it not arrest the spring tides of civilization precisely at that point where they roll the fullest, and rise the highest? Does not England know that the grand, the tremendous issues of the age, and of all the after ages, is made up and pending between political absolutism and constitutional government? On the one side, behold all the coalesced despotisms of Europe, pledged by their ideas and interests to quench forever, in darkest night, the last ray of regulated liberty; on the other, we perceive alone the little isle that gems the northern ocean, and the descendants from the same stock in the western hemisphere. The final contest betwixt these irreconcilable opposites may be delayed by temporary expedients, by truces under the name of treaties, and by hollow alliances more unnatural and dangerous than a state of open war. But still the day of battle must dawn at last. And where, in that dreadful struggle of nations, can England expect either sympathy or assistance, save from the land inheriting her blood, her laws, her liberties, and her language? Could she wish, in the crisis of that hour, the most awfully momentous to humanity which the world has yet witnessed, that the United States should be a poor, feeble, ineffectual Power, with no voice or authority among the potentates of the earth?

I am aware that a class of British statesmen erroneously suppose us to be natural and hereditary enemies, rather than friends and admirers of England; and they offer, as a proof of the assumption, the general and notorious sympathy of our people for Russia in the late European war. But, if such were the fact, England can only attribute the existence of the feeling to the previous and jealous conduct of her own Government in reference to American affairs. We remembered with pain the Anglo-French intrigues in Texas. We were apprized of her intention to cut off our necessary transits through Central America. We apprehended her purpose to Africanize Cuba; and, therefore, we saw with boundless astonishment, and no little alarm, the installation of the French alliance. We thought it an unnatural and extraordinary political phenomenon, a conjunction of contradictories; and having learned the privilege of free expression from English teachers, we said so. But our surprise and disapprobation were converted into sterner sentiments when Lord Clarendon proclaimed, in Parliament, that the happy accord and good understanding between France and England extended beyond the eastern policy to all portions of the two hemispheres. We knew, and felt, that this was a menace aimed at us; and hence, during all the changes of the conflict which raged in Europe, the people of the United States believed most firmly and sincerely that, in the event of eminent and decisive success on the part of the Western Powers, flushed with victory, and insolent in the pride of its strength, they would turn their combined forces to active intervention in matters of American policy. And, if we were indeed mistaken, the words and actions of the English Government created the delusion. How, then, can British statesmen wonder that the reverberations of their conquering cannon,

from the hills and plains of the distant Crimea, awakened no warm welcome of generous enthusiasm, but terror and dismay rather, in American bosoms, when they might expect soon to be appalled by the sound of these same engines of fiery destruction thundering at their own doors?

The great practical question will, however, doubtless be urged—how shall we remove the obstinate prejudice of the English aristocracy, so long and so unreasonably entertained against the progress of American institutions? In what manner shall we act, so as to effect a change in her cherished policy of American repression? Now, one thing is clear, as a starting point, beyond all criticism or controversy, that the American people will never permit, on this continent, the extension of the European plan of interference for the preservation of the balance of power. Explode the Monroe doctrine over and over a thousand times, and still our people will never tolerate European interposition to check their growth, or confine their greatness—never, while they keep even the shadow or semblance of an independent sovereignty. The feeling is as strong and irreversible as the ocean tides—as immovable as the American mountains. The principle was embraced in the infancy of the Government, and it will not be abandoned in the vigor and fullness of American manhood. To imagine such a possibility is madness. What course, then, must we pursue? Shall we declare war, or adopt measures, the indirect tendency of which will lead to hostilities, for the purpose of securing the recognition of this our favorite popular dogma?

As I have said before, I, for one, advocate no such short-sighted or imprudent policy. I belong to the school of politicians who believe that the most energetic and efficient prosecution of this, as well as all our other national rights, may be conducted by pacific methods, and in a state of profound peace. I am a friend of American progress, and therefore do not wish to see anything done which might arrest its march or diminish the ratio of its cumulative motion. Hence, I am opposed to war; for I am well satisfied that a collision with any great European Power would put us back in the path of our unexampled prosperity the distance of a hundred years. But yet I would prefer war, with the perilous hazard of all its unknown chances and contingencies, rather than a tame and servile acquiescence in the limitation which any Government or coalition of Governments, should attempt to impose as the definite and arbitrary boundary of our expansion in this hemisphere; because the precedent of such a submission, and the existence of so pliable a spirit on our part, instead of delaying, would defeat our destiny forever. Nevertheless, I repeat there can be no danger of a war, especially with England, if we follow the dictates of a wise and systematic policy—if we touch not that tender point, the true interests of her people, and content ourselves with the cultivation of our own. For she will certainly fight any day, in season and out of season, and against any odds, to protect her proper glory and greatness, but never to deprive us of ours. We possess means of combat of the most pacific description, greater than the mightiest armaments of all Europe combined. Every strong stalk of that green rustling corn

which grows in the prairies of Illinois and Wisconsin, is equipollent to any French musket, or the more deadly Minie rifle; and every bale of cotton from the fields of Texas and South Carolina presents a counterpoise for a British paixhan. They may boast of their naval strength; we rejoice in one more natural, less costly, and far more comprehensive. In response to the splendid and menacing pageants of all their Baltic fleets, we can point to the great granaries of the West; and in opposition to the Sebastopol, which they only half captured by their arms, we can show them a world which we have wholly conquered by the arts of peace. Such are our resources; and while we employ them justly and discreetly in the defence of our own rights, not to assail the privileges of others, there can be no danger of collision with any foreign country, and nothing to dread if it should occur.

Especially with respect to England, the plainest principles of common honesty and good sense alike indicate the policy which we ought to pursue. Remembering the obvious distinction that feeling, interest, habit, and education have all contributed to draw and deepen betwixt the English people and their aristocratic Government, rendering the one our natural friends and allies, and the other, from unreasonable prejudices, inimical to our progress, we should so conduct our measures as to satisfy the former, and then we may safely disregard the latter as being utterly impotent without the support of the English masses.

Now, turning to another branch of the same general subject, in my judgment, and in the opinion of the American people, the time has fully come when the policy of the United States can no longer be bounded by the limits of this continent, or by the more insignificant dimensions of Europe, but must be extended as widely as the diffusion of our commercial intercourse, to every region of the known world. I believe, sir, that the privilege of free and unrestricted trade and travel to all parts of the globe is not only the natural right, but the positive duty of the human race, as the very scheme and design of Providence for the civilization of the species, and the only means of put us advancement to the highest ultimate perfection. I do not admit, but spurn as an utter and impious absurdity, the old, effete, and barbarous doctrine of intolerable despotism, carried out to its climax of ignorant and stupid folly in the foreign system of the Japanese—that any one nation can justly claim the legal prerogative to exclude another from amicable communication with its subjects, or from mutually profitable traffic within its borders. Nor can I recognise the insolent pretensions of any Power to monopolize the products of a particular region on this broad and beautiful earth, the common inheritance of all its children by the will and wisdom of the universal Father. I can see no more warrant in the laws of nature and reason for barring a free passage on the land, than for shutting down the great gates of the ocean. Indeed, the Almighty has demonstrated a different doctrine, in the clearest manner, as well by the natural wants, as by the passionate instincts implanted in every human heart.

If you survey the motley map of the world, and the singular distribution of nations and races, what

extraordinary spectacle of dismemberment and diversity is presented in the picture! You perceive the great whole of humanity broken up into fragments, and scattered afar, apparently without order, round the irregular surface of islands and continents—separated by lakes, rivers, and measureless seas—sundered by savage mountains, and wastes of desert sand; but more than all, by national prejudices—the fierce antipathies of different religions, governments, and laws. Everywhere you witness hostilities, hatreds, wars, so that you are tempted to doubt the possibility of any future harmony among such elements of endless discord, and almost despair for the destiny of man. What principle of affinity or coalescence can bring together these repulsive masses—these warring nations and races—in a permanent and profitable contact of friendship and peace?

Behold the power of social attraction in the spirit of commerce! This alone can draw the people of divided or distant countries towards each other, and evolve the beauty of systematic order, with the precious principle of progressive movement, out of the deep chaos and wild war which reign over the adverse communities of the world. Each geographical locality of the globe is distinguished by some peculiar characteristic of vegetable, mineral, or animal wealth. One produces cotton, or coffee, and another corn. This is rich in silver; that coast contains pearls, and the rocks of yonder mountain glitter with veins of gold. The torrid land of eternal summer yields tropical fruits, while the snows of the frozen north teem with furs and wool. No region, however, is omniferous. But man, the common inhabitant of each, is omnivorous and all necessitous. His insatiable desires and urgent wants demand whatever can charm the eye, please the palate, or gratify the luxurious nerves of the other senses. He yearns for articles of food, or ornaments of fashion, that can only come across the ocean or continent, from the antipodal distance of the earth's diameter. And here you perceive the natural and necessary cause, the law of God himself, which originated commerce.

Now look at the consequences. In order to converse remote countries, or to engage in trade with different races, navigation must be invented, languages must be studied, and formal or tacit treaties of friendship must be cemented betwixt the inter-communicating people. Very soon the mere friction of habitual contact wears away the deep angular asperities of ignorance and national prejudice, and a feeling of sympathy and union pervades in the pleasant consciousness of reciprocal profit. Thus, in the very fact of their association, which seemed to sever them as widely as the poles, has Providence interpolated a provision for the ultimate cohesion and concord of the human species. From these considerations, the absolute right of free commercial intercourse among all the nations of the earth follows, as an irresistible corollary, because the Deity has not implanted any natural propensity in the constitution of his creatures, with the impossibility of satisfaction, to be the means of useless torture; and the wants and wishes of the race, the greatest happiness of the greatest number, must now be

recognised as the sole measure of social and political right and wrong.

Let me now turn to a country where you will find the most noble and ample field for the application of these fruitful principles. I allude to the great islands and fairy islets that gem the Eastern Archipelago, enveloped and floating, as it were, in the waters of both the Pacific and Indian oceans, and the luminous sea of China. There lies the ancient land, perhaps the very cradle of the human race, yet now almost utterly unknown and isolated. It is tinged with the colors of classical allusion and covered with the gorgeous mist of romance and imagination, like a sort of elfin paradise or Eden of the waves. It is that other world which the wonderful genius of Alexander the Great wisely wept to behold and conquer, but in vain. Glance at your map. How lovely it looks!—that imperial expanse so justly called Oceanica, for the liquid territories of the globe can present no other such grand pictorial grouping of islands and island-continents. To realize its full effect, suppose yourself endowed with telescopic powers of vision, and take your stand on the summit of the Crystal Mountains in Borneo, the largest of the insular circle. You are surrounded everywhere by a magnificent panorama of peninsulas and islands, like magical devices or fairy frostwork of the sea, as if the very waves, agitated by the breath of Heaven, had been suddenly crystalized into forms of inedible beauty. Beneath your feet is Borneo, almost a continent in itself, being nine hundred miles in length and eight hundred in breadth—that is to say, as vast in extent as from Maine to Virginia, and from the Atlantic sea-board to the shores of the great lakes, and with a population of at least four millions of souls. Nor is this broad territory a barren or unproductive domain. It abounds in rice, yams, betel, spices, and all the luxuriant fruits of India. Wild bees fill its forests with wax and honey, and among its crystal caverns the *salangane* swallow builds its edible nests. Its coasts are rich in pearl and mother-of-pearl, and its mountains sparkle with precious stones. Some idea may be conceived of its wealth in diamonds from the fact that the petty prince of Maltan owns a single one worth a million and two hundred thousand dollars, while gold is found in quantities that seem absolutely fabulous. There, too, the female form develops its most sensual fascinations, and the Indian dancing-girls bewilder even a European eye by the artistic evolutions of their agility and grace. Marvel not at this, for you are in the land of everlasting summer, the far-famed and fiery Orient, where the very sunbeams appear to sow the earth with jewels, as it were a rain of stars. Now look towards the east; beyond Celebes, and a little south of the flaming equator, you discover Papua, or New Guinea, nearly equal to Borneo in superficial measurement and the number of its inhabitants. See its soaring mountains rise above each other, in three successive ranges, until their volcanic summits pierce the regions of eternal snow; thus combining, in the same latitude, all the varieties of torrid, temperate, and polar climates. On this side of Papua, you behold Celebes, that strange family of five peninsulas—the smallest of which is as large as New Jersey—with three mil-

tions of people, the *elite* of the Archipelago. There, as in the rest of the gorgeous cluster, the green leaf never fades, and flowers and fruit blend their charms around the glowing circle of the seasons. Gaze, then, towards the west, where Sumatra sleeps like an island of enchantment on the shining waters. It is as large as all our eastern States, with New York added to them, and contains a population of four million Malays. Its outlines are picturesque in the extreme, being a thousand miles in length to only one hundred and sixty in breadth, with the most sublime mountain scenery, relieved by visions of lovely lakes and valleys of indescribable beauty. It is celebrated for its tin, iron, copper, and gold, with all the vegetable glory of its oceanic sisters. Turn, next, towards the south; to the coffee-fields and spice-forests of Java. It has about the extent of Cuba, and is peopled by eleven millions of the most docile and industrious race in that part of the eastern hemisphere. In its splendid groves, palms and cocoa trees tower up to the height of a hundred and fifty feet, and the soil is of such astonishing fertility as to render the labor of tillage almost unnecessary. Sweep again the jeweled circle of the surrounding seas, and you find not less than a hundred other islets, each, on an average, as spacious as Delaware. The whole of the Archipelago, with the internal straits, passages, and bays, constitute an area as great as that of the United States, with all our vast Territories, and swarms with an active and energetic population of a least twenty-seven millions of souls, according to the most recent and accurate data.

The soil of these islands being of volcanic origin, and situated under a tropical sun, is wonderfully fertile. Two, or even three crops of rice, the staple article of food, may be grown in the same year. The little Isle of Bali, which is not more than sixty miles long and forty-five broad, is peopled by nearly a million of inhabitants, and exported, last season, fifty tons of rice to China, and three thousand cattle, of the small buffalo breed, to various Indian ports. The natives of this diminutive State are as warlike as they are laborious in their habits, and have successfully resisted the cruel encroachments of the Dutch. Of coffee and sugar, the well-known products of Java, the exports, the preceding year, amounted to \$55,000,000; pepper, the staple of Sumatra, with camphor, gutta percha, cassia, aloes, and its precious woods, yields a revenue of \$15,000,000 annually. Borneo sends abroad the worth of \$10,000,000 in gold, diamonds, and other valuable articles. However, as a large portion of the trade in all these islands is, in Chinese, or inter-insular hands, there are no sufficient data to determine its precise valuation.

The sum total of exports from that segment of the archipelagic circle under the administrative control of the Dutch, and which is about one-third of the whole, has been stated in official returns at \$45,000,000, and yields to the Government of Holland a clear income of \$9,000,000, by which she is enabled to pay the interest of her enormous national debt. And thus the political power of the Hague is only saved from utter bankruptcy and ruin by the coffee of Java, the pepper of Sumatra, the tin of Borneo, and the precious spices of the Moluccas. From the rest of the

Archipelago, as yet unaffected by the approaches of European domination, it is supposed that the active traders of China, Muscat, and other countries, who swarm in those placid seas with their junks, prahus, and light feluccas, carry on a commerce in gums, spices, and edible birds' nests, betel, oil, cocoa-nuts, pearls, gold, and all the delicious fruits of India, to an amount not less than \$50,000,000. So the trade altogether of Europeans and natives will exceed \$100,000,000. But yet it must be manifest that scarcely a tenth part of the resources and almost fabulous wealth of those rich islands has been developed. New Guinea, which is nearly four times as large as Java, produces annually but one or two millions, while the latter presents \$10,000,000. Indeed, the greatest jewel of this oceanic diadem is quite a recent discovery, and remains for the most part entirely unknown. Its inexhaustible treasures are buried in its own deep forests, and have not been touched by European hands.

England, usually so forward in maritime enterprises, would long ago have grasped the commerce of these great islands, if she had not been compelled by the other Powers, on the pacification of Europe in 1816, to leave them under the nominal jurisdiction of the Dutch. France has been too much absorbed in her dynastic revolutions and wars of ambition to prosecute any grand scheme of oriental acquisitions. Moreover, as an able writer in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* has observed:

"It is the interest of continental Europe to defend Holland in her possessions in the Indian ocean, as a barrier against the encroachments of the Anglo-Saxon race in Australia and India, and now pressing onwards from the Pacific borders of America."

Thus, as that intelligent traveller, Captain Gibson, has remarked:

"The Dutch alone have gained a foothold in the East Indian archipelago; but impotent by nature to conquer or destroy the wealth they so much covet, they have done little more than to menace the shores of these islands with a shadowy and unsubstantial power."

The further and full cultivation of this prolific field is held in reserve by Providence for the genius of Americans. The American character has already found an access to the oriental confidence, which has never been accorded to European intercourse. Our commercial policy, aiming rather to enrich than to ruin, is well calculated to insure this result. England will fail to convince the most credulous people of Asia, that her friendship seeks not the spoils of their industry while all India lies prostrate and bleeding at her feet. Holland has evinced still more ruthless barbarity in her dealings with the natives of the archipelago. But America alone can proudly point out to the East a brilliant example of the beauty of her principles and generous moderation of her power, in the enlightenment and regeneration of the Sandwich Islands; while the fact seems still more striking, from its remarkable contrast with the wretched condition of the military possessions of both England and France at the Marquesas and Society groups. Nevertheless, our enterprising sons have not yet dared to venture within the charmed circle of Dutch exclusion. They have feared even to travel where they had a perfect

right to trade—among the beautiful islands of that free Indian ocean. The merchant of Boston or Salem, proceeding through the Straits of Sunda or Malacca, on his way to China, is not allowed to pause and penetrate the bays and harbors of that gorgeous group inviting his attention, without coming in collision with the maritime police of the Netherlands, which incessantly watches those seas, and with no more foundation in natural right or national law than Danish toll or Algerine tribute. Our traders entertain the common opinion of the whole country, that whatever outrage they might suffer must be submitted to in silence, without the hope of redress from their own Government, or only after so long delay and so much importunity and expense as would render the cost of reparation equivalent to the original wrong.

There is a pointed instance of this fact now under the consideration of the Committee on Foreign Affairs. Captain Walter M. Gibson, an American traveller of great genius, intelligence, and intrepidity, five years ago set sail in his own vessel to explore the Islands of the Indian seas, and pioneer a way for American commerce. In the exercise of his undoubted right, he proceeded to visit the interior of Sumatra, and entered into amicable relations with the native and independent chieftains, for the purpose of securing important commercial advantages to his country. His entire career presents the unusual spectacle of warm love for enlightened adventure, tempered by a philosophic spirit, and the most genial humanity in ardent sympathy with the species under whatever conditions of custom, religion, or race. He remembered that the leading maritime nations of Europe had tried their skill in the East on the principles of terror and subjugation, without the attainment of any distinguished or honorable success, and he desired to see what could be effected by the American policy of friendship, affinity, and soothing assimilation. And Captain Gibson's experience opens a luminous and enlarged vista into the future of our relations with that lovely quarter of the world, which looks almost like a dream of glory of the strangest enchantment. We are now enabled to realize why it was that the Dutch Government exerted all its strength and cunning to close the eyes of civilized Powers from these scenes of oriental magnificence and wonderful wealth. And we can see, besides, what a grand mistake they committed in transforming the mere curious traveller into a martyr for native independence, thus conferring upon an American, who never thought of such a distinction, an extraordinary influence over a people, who are now led to believe that, in some manner, his fate was blended with their own.

And from the gloomy prison of Weltevreden comes a calm but earnest voice, bespeaking for the oppressed Malay a better opinion and a warmer sympathy than he has received from the cruel and avaricious European traders; and I sadly misjudge the temper of the times, if this voice does not awaken a permanent interest among all the humane and cultivated of this country, and the whole of Christendom. The Malays are truly a remarkable race, and possess many attributes capable of exalted and indefinite improvement. They have adopted the religion and language of

the Arabs, and mingled with them by intermarriage until they have become separated from their original stock, and form a distinct nationality. In their physical appearance, they are lithe and nervous, with eyes full of fire, brilliancy, and passionate enthusiasm. Their prowess amounts to desperation, and all their emotions are lively and impetuous. Nor have they been unknown to history. In the thirteenth century they acted a splendid part on the theatre of Asia, both in war and commerce, founding a great empire in Malacca, and conquering or colonizing most of the Indian islands. But at present their nobility are divided by a barbarous feudal system; and the inherent energies of the race have been long repressed by the intolerable despotism of the Dutch proconsular regime.

But before I conclude this subject, let me take another and wider sweep around the circle of those jeweled seas. Yonder, far away to the West, are the cinnamon woods of Ceylon—that cradle of the ancient worship of Buddha. In its soil lie imbedded twenty different kinds of precious stones, such as the ruby, sapphire, and flaming amethyst; while silver and gold glitter almost as plentiful as pebbles in the beds of its gushing streams; and every forest is laden with the delicious fruits of the tropics. Above it may be seen the grand peninsula of India, like the angle of an acute triangle, thrust far out into the ocean, betwixt the famous bay of Bengal and the Arabian sea. Still nearer your stand-point of Borneo's crystal mountains, in the direction of the northwest, you behold a narrow peninsula more than a thousand miles in length, resembling an immense sword, the sharp end of which almost touches Sumatra. That is Malacca, the old land of the Malays.

Now look towards the East, beyond Celebes, and you discover the resplendent Spice Islands, the clove trees of Amboyna, and the nutmegs of Banda. Everywhere you see the gorgeous group teeming with cocoas and bread fruit, and with all the luxuries of the voluptuous East. The very air is a sweetened ocean of intoxicating perfumes; and the brilliant birds of Paradise gild the groves with their rainbow plumage. Or, gaze northwards, far away, at the lovely family of the Philippines, twelve hundred in number, all rich in rice, coffee, gold, silver, and in every flower and fruit of the tropics.

At every point you may behold the symbols of English, French, Spanish, or Dutch domination; for all these Powers own ports and possessions in the Indian seas; but still nowhere can you discover the starry flag of republican freedom waving in the fragrant winds which blow from these islands of the Blest. Why is this? How shall we account for so strange an anomaly as this perverse exclusion of American authority and enterprise from the golden gate and flower gardens of the Orient? Has the cruel partiality of our English parents, or the stern injustice of our elder brothers in Europe, monopolized and divided out the globe, by their favorite rite of primogeniture, leaving no dower for the youngest and the most beautiful child in the great family of nations and races? If such be their wild intention, the crazy will must be revoked. The entire testament should be set aside, and declared null and void, as contrary to the fan-

damental laws—the higher decrees of Providence. The palates of our people must be allowed to taste the nectarine fruits of God that grow on those far-off Indian trees. Our adventurous sons must be suffered to carry the blessings of religion and civilization into the ever-blooming bosom of each lovely island—to render them, one and all, radiant with a splendor sweeter than the sunlight, and brighter than the stars. The modest maidens of America have an equal right with any queens of the other hemisphere to the golden ore of Sumatra, and the flashing diamonds of Borneo, to adorn their native beauty, and gem their bridal hair.

But it should never be forgotten that every great movement in the march of humanity involves far higher considerations than the sordid gains of commerce—than any mere material advancements or acquisitions, however interesting, permanent, or imposing. Philanthropy and religion alike regard the moral and intellectual wants of the species as inconceivably more important than their physical prosperity. Nor can the systematic design, the plan and purpose of an overruling and a mysterious Providence, be doubted, to elevate and civilize the inferior and savage races of mankind, through the agency and instrumentality of those further promoted in mental polish and social improvement. I say it, with all the reverence of a firm belief, there can be no other means imagined, without a miracle, for the universal, or even general, exaltation of human kind.

Interrogate history. The annals of the world prove, beyond the possibility of a contradiction, that no single people, by their own inherent activity, or self-originated impulses, ever yet inaugurated the reign of progress. On the contrary, the first precious seeds of every grand civilization have always been borne from abroad. Rome received her early arts and literature from Greece, as the isles of the Grecian Archipelago had derived even the letters of their alphabet from Egypt and Phœnicia. All the northern European nations—the Gauls, Celts, and Germans—remained in the midnight of ignorance, superstition, and unmitigated barbarism, until brought into contact, and mingled and melted, as it were, with the elements of Roman refinement. And every triumph of Christianity on the surface of the globe has been preceded or accompanied by conquests of a secular character, by the inroads of science, of commerce, of the arts, or of arms. The unaided missionary, however ardent his zeal, may never hope to convert the Pagan world. All the united forces of Christian civilization must concur in the labor.

And it is precisely on this ground that I would urge the extension of a large and enlightened foreign policy to all parts of the earth, and more especially to the great Indian archipelago, that wonderful flower-garden and physical paradise of the globe. I would have thrown open an intercourse to us of the utmost profit, and to them of everlasting gain. For the nectar and ambrosia of their tropical fruits, I would barter the bread of an immortal life; and as a double compensation for all their gems and gold, I would interstar the gorgeous oriental imagination with the beautiful truths of our science, and the brilliant, the boundless hopes of our most holy and heavenly religion. And, in-

deed, who can calculate the future riches of that wide and inviting field for the work of the Christian missionary, when the precious grain shall become white for the harvest? How every crystal mountain, and valley of smiling green, will ring with the chimes of the church bell, and hum with village schools! One can almost fancy how the very winds, as they whisper through the cinnamon gardens, and the light waves, as they baptize with snowy foam the jeweled rocks of the coral reefs, will murmur songs of redemption! How the voice of prayer and praise will roll around the circle of those sunny isles, from Cape Comorin to the fair Moluccas, and from the coffee groves of Java to the Tropic of Cancer, until all the regions of the fiery Equator shall catch the music of the echo, and resound with the hymns of heaven! And then, perhaps, shall powers and pictures of civilization be developed and realized, in that old world of the Malays, with their burning imaginations and volcanic temperments, more grand and glorious than ever dawned on a poet's dream.

But while touching this magnificent topic, I must confess my obligation, and thus, in some faint degree, liquidate the large debt which all Christendom owes to an intrepid traveler of our own country. From him and from his writings I obtained the preceding glance into the enchanted circle of oriental insular life. I know not what impression the record he has made may have effected in America; but every American patriot should be truly gratified that its thrilling pictures and noble words have met with a warm, and even enthusiastic welcome across the great water; where a leading London journal has paid to our traveler and author, Captain Walter M. Gibson, a compliment as distinguished as it was well deserved.

Unfortunately, however, as a just cause of humiliation to our national pride, the same American hand, which unmasked to American eyes the splendor of that eastern vision, also revealed, *ipso facto*, the cringing and pitiful policy of our own government. Without the least shadow of justification, or the pretext of an excuse, Captain Gibson was incarcerated in a Dutch dungeon, by the colonial authorities, where he languished for months, and whence he escaped only with his life, by the brave and generous assistance of a Malay heroine. An American citizen, in the peaceful pursuits of commerce and scientific curiosity, was plundered, imprisoned, and menaced with death; and yet, up to the present moment, the administration has not found the courage to seek the proper redress.—Does any one suppose that, if such an outrage had been perpetrated against an English subject, the English Government would have thus acquiesced without a murmur? The very idea is simply ridiculous. Then, why should we manifest a spirit of more humble submission, and yield ourselves up the passive victims of foreign scorn, as defiant as it is injurious to the interests of our trade?

Having previously indicated the magnitude and vast dimensions of our external relations with all the Powers of the earth, it remains for me to grapple more sternly than I have yet done, with the great practical question as to what course should be adopted in order to avoid the errors which experience has demonstrated in the past, and to insure a brilliant and uninterrupted career to the

goal of our ultimate and exalted destiny in the future.

In my judgment, natural and abstract right, the law of nations, the light of expediency, and the most urgent motives of self-interest, all accord in the declaration of two cardinal principles, as the original and unchangable axioms of American policy. The one is notable and well known, though shamefully misunderstood, as the *Mouré doctrine*; and the other, which has hitherto received no accurate or logical definition, or particular and fixed name, I shall take the liberty of terming *the natural doctrine of voluntary expatriation*.

To comprehend fully the thorough import of the former doctrine, it becomes necessary to advert briefly to the causes which first led to its promulgation; and, therefore, I must entreat pardon for slightly trespassing on the patience of the House by a cursory reference to some extraordinary facts in the antecedent and cotemporary history of European politics.

When the unprecedented power of Napoleon suddenly flashed up from the fiery crater of the French revolution, like some strange meteor, to appal the nations and render the throne of every tyrant in the Old World tremulously insecure, the potentates affected by that wonderful phenomenon of popular force naturally conceived a boundless aversion, mingled with mortal awe, at the bare idea of political changes, and especially of such as tended to unsettle the stability of hereditary governments. Accordingly, after the final restoration of the Bourbons to the rule of subjugated France, the great continental Powers of Russia, Prussia, and Austria, concluded and published a treaty at Paris, which has generally been called the Holy Alliance. The project originated with the Emperor Alexander, of Russia; and from its devout invocations, and solemn protestations of clemency, justice, and Christianity, it might have been regarded as the installation of a novel system of religious fanaticism, had not the subsequent conduct of its authors stamped a decisive negative on that hypothesis, proving it to be altogether political.

This misnamed Holy Alliance was only the inchoate step in a series of sins against the law of nature and of nations—aggressions the most astonishing of any recorded in the pages of modern history. In the spring of 1821, these same sovereigns assembled in Congress at Laybach, and openly proclaimed, as the polar star of their policy, a principle the most dangerous ever taught even in the courts of absolute despotism. They addressed a circular to their foreign ministers, which, among other monstrous absurdities, alleges "that useful and necessary changes in legislation, and in the administration of States, ought only to emanate from the free will and intelligent and well-weighed conviction of those whom God has rendered responsible for power. All that deviates from this line, necessarily leads to disorder, commotions, and evils far more insufferable than those which they pretend to remedy."

It is needless to remark how totally incompatible such a doctrine as this is with the theory of the American Government, or indeed with the principles, and even existence, of any liberal or regulated government whatsoever. Nor could

this startling announcement of the diademed doctors of a new international law be interpreted and treated as an abstract declaration, a mere lesson of learned authority for the enlightenment of the nations, with no view or design to its forcible application in practice. For the same Congress had avowed at Troppau, "that the powers have an undoubted right to take a hostile attitude in regard to those States in which the overthrow of the government may operate as an example."

The joint effect of these different proclamations was to convince all sensible men that this Holy Alliance had determined on the subjection of the civilized world to their favorite standard of absolute rule. If, however, any uncertainty as to the object of that stupendous conspiracy against all free institutions still lingered in any mind, it was dissipated by the Congress of Verona in the autumn of 1822. At that time Spain was under the constitutional government of the Cortez, chosen by the unfettered will, and supported by the general approbation of the Spanish people themselves. The allied Powers of Russia, Prussia, France, and Austria, proposed to reinstate the tyrant, Ferdinand, in all his ancient authority; and notwithstanding the strong dissent and spirited protest of England, the measure was adopted. In the spring of 1823, a French army marched into Spain, overturned the popular government, and re-established despotism on its old foundations. Such a violent and mortal stab of the crowned conspirators, aimed at the heart of universal liberty, and even at the independence of nations, could not fail to attract attention, and excite alarm in the United States; and the powerful voice of Mr. Webster sounded its trumpet tones, signaling the imminent danger, in the Halls of Congress.

But that was not all. In December of the same year, as soon as the Spanish king felt completely assured of his absolute throne, he addressed a formal invitation to his august allies, suggesting a new conference, at Paris, to devise some plan for the renovation of his fallen authority over the revolted colonies of Spanish America. The proposed assembly of sovereigns, however, was defeated by the firm opposition of England, and the decided stand taken by the United States.

It was precisely at this perilous crisis of affairs that Mr. Monroe uttered, in a message to Congress, his famous doctrine, which has lately provoked so much comment and discussion in both hemispheres. In reference to the apprehended European intervention on this continent he said:

"We owe it to candor, and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those Powers, to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere, as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European Power, we have not interfered, and shall not interfere. But with the Governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration, and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States."

This memorable message also contained another and kindred declaration equally prudent and im-

portant, as the complement to the circle of American policy. It asserted:

"In the wars of the European Powers, in matters relating to themselves, we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy so to do. It is only when our rights are invaded, or seriously menaced, that we resent injuries, or make preparations for defence. With the movements in this hemisphere we are more immediately connected, and by causes which must be obvious to all enlightened and impartial observers. The political system of the Allied Powers is essentially different, in this respect, from that of America."

This doctrine, on its first publication, and in all its parts, met the cordial approval of the whole country, and was hailed with enthusiastic delight by all the friends of liberal institutions throughout the world. Nor did even the English people greet it with less warmth or welcome. The principal minister of the British Government, Mr. Canning, expressed, in the House of Commons, his hearty concurrence in the opinions of the American President; while the great leader of the opposition, Mr. Brougham, avowed in his place, "that no event had ever created more joy, exultation, and gratitude among the freemen in Europe; and that he felt pride in being connected by blood and language with the people of the United States."

Let me next apply the scrutiny of a more searching analysis to that Monroe doctrine, which, at first, commended itself to such general and intelligent approbation in both hemispheres, but which now is so strangely misunderstood in the one, and so shamefully misrepresented in the other. An impartial examination shows it to involve three fundamental principles—neither more nor less. First: That in the wars of European Powers in matters relating to themselves, we have no sort of political concern whatsoever. Secondly: That with the existing colonies or dependencies of any European Power, we will not interfere. Thirdly: That the European Powers shall not extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere, nor attempt, in any manner, to control the destiny of its independent governments, under the penalty, whatever that might be, of being considered and treated as unfriendly to the United States. In short, the declaration publicly, and in the face of the world, protested that we would not intermeddle with matters of exclusively European policy; and that no Power of Europe should interpose in American affairs. The latter branch of the doctrine implied, as its logical corollary, the utter prohibition of European colonization on the American continent, which, nevertheless, was deemed by the President of sufficient moment to warrant a distinct and positive affirmation.

And yet the English Government, at the time, took no exception to the policy as published; but, on the contrary, fully approved its terms and objects, and by that act, must be adjudged as forever precluded from posterior exception, or agitation of the question. Why should Lord Clarendon be permitted to criticise, now, political maxims which once commanded the enlightened assent of the illustrious and classical Canning, and drew from the lips of the eloquent and sagacious Brougham, then in the glory of his golden prime, a burning outburst of sympathy and admiration?

I might appeal even to any intelligent European,

and inquire, what possible or rational objection can you urge against this doctrine? Is it not fair, generous, and just, between all the parties having any interest in the issue? You prefer and cherish a system of government by the hands of hereditary royalty in Europe; while we choose a constitutional government by the people in America. Very well; this can be no ground for enmity or opposition; let both of us exercise the natural privilege of independent sovereignties, to live under the rule which pleases us the best. But if it be replied that our republican influence or example will prove dangerous to the absolute institutions of Europe, I answer, neither shall that be any cause of controversy or quarrel, so far as we can prevent it; for your domination on this continent would be still more dangerous and deleterious to our form of government; and as happily, the whole breadth of the ocean separates our respective territories, we propose, as an additional guarantee of peace and friendship, the safe and equal compromise of the Monroe doctrine. We will not obtrude our influence on the sphere of European politics; and as a just compensation, you must not interfere with the policy of the free Powers in America. And thus there can arise no occasion or pretext for a collision. Can anything be more reasonable or prudent than such a proposition? Can aught be imagined more wisely calculated to obviate discord, and insure the perpetuity of amicable relations? The systems of government that prevail in the two hemispheres are seen to be logical and political contradistinctories. The dark shadow of absolutism, with a single exception, dwells on the one; while the pure sunlight of republican liberty, though obscured in spots by the fogs of anarchy, beams on the other. Now, if these opposite systems come into near contiguity, or immediate contact, in the same locality, they will necessarily seek to vanquish each other, and in the struggle for superiority, war must result; and to preclude such a possibility, they must be kept apart—divided by the great gulf of distance: let each be confined to its appropriate space. But this is the declaration of Monroe; and I esteem it as one of the wisest political inventions ever conceived by the intellect of man. It was the proclamation of independence for all the countries on this continent. And it was the promulgation of an honorable peace, also, with all the governments on the globe.

This salutary doctrine was not devised, as some erroneously suppose, to lay the foundation for a series of aggressive schemes against the Territories of our American neighbors. It put forth no kind of pretension of any right to oppress or plunder them, or to encroach on their boundaries, or to control their administration, nor yet to interfere in any way with their policy, save in their behalf, as friends and protectors, and with their free accord and full consent. It laid claim to no kind of supremacy over any American State. It arrogated no superiority, and proffered no advice. It was never intended as an instrument of national aggrandizement at the expense of others. It committed us to no wild and wicked project of conquest or compulsory annexation. It simply declared in favor and defense of every American Government, that the reign of European Powers had ended in the Western World. But it surely

not follow, by any legitimate rule of inference, that the United States must become oppressors or tyrants in their turn. It only left us, as well as all the other American sovereignties, free and unfettered from the authority of foreign dictation, to deal with every question of inter-American policy as it might be presented, and in the mode which our own sense of justice, humanity, and the best interests of the continent might require, under all the circumstances of the special case.

It is truly strange, that such a discreet and commendable plan of political wisdom as this, should have been so egregiously misapprehended, perverted, slandered, denied, and flagrantly violated, without redress, or even apology. It can be no wonder that European potentates treat a doctrine with scorn, which has been so long trailed in the very mire of diplomacy, and so often trampled under foot with impunity.

But the chief outrage against this principle remains still to be told. For—I blush to recount—one of the most notorious infringements of the Monroe doctrine proceeded from our own Government, and the fact will be preserved in the annals of the present administration. Ay, the crime was perpetrated by the very prophets and high-priests of the dogma, even by the very men who preached war as the sole means of avenging its desecration. I allude to the world-renowned phenomenon of the Ostend conference.

As events succeed each other with such wonderful rapidity in the progress of American political life, as soon to efface the memory of the most important measures, when they have once been either executed or abandoned, I may be excused for bestowing a hasty glance at the extraordinary anomaly in American administrative policy, which I have previously mentioned. It seems, that when Mr. Soule received the appointment of Minister to Spain, in conjunction with the President, he digested his own instructions and arranged a systematic scheme for the annexation of Cuba.—But as to how many other members of the Cabinet concurred in the plan, it does not become me to hazard a conjecture.

The rationale of the original project was as follows: The American Minister had authority to offer the Spanish Government some hundred millions of dollars, as the payment for “the gem of the Antilles.” He was also directed to demand ample and immediate redress for the many aggressions against American commerce, committed by Spanish vessels in the vicinity of Cuba. It must be conceded that nothing appeared on the surface of this diplomatic plan which could be pronounced unfair, or even a point of departure from the line of our safe and settled policy. But beneath the brilliant flowers of its verbiage lurked the subtle serpent, whose poison was to destroy the vitality of the Monroe doctrine, and cause all Europe to recoil from the stench of its putrid corpse, as indeed, too soon became manifest to the senses of the civilized world.

Soule sailed for Europe. He was in no hurry, however, to reach the goal of his destination, since he delayed in London to hold repeated consultations with the Red Republican chiefs of the revolutionary committee—Mazzini, Ledru Rollin, and Kossuth. The four concerted a system of

operations designed to involve this country in a European war, as the ally and instrument of the revolutionary faction. While the three principal Powers were engaged in the crisis of the Eastern war, the torch of insurrection was to be kindled in Western Europe, and fanned to a general conflagration.

The projectors assumed that Spain would deny reparation for the outrages upon American commerce. In that case the United States would instantly despatch an armament to seize the Island of Cuba, as a material guarantee for the redress demanded. But it was well known that a treaty existed between the English, French, and Spanish Governments, securing to the latter the possession of Cuba; and, therefore, those Powers would be compelled to a declaration of hostilities against us by the terms of their compact on that subject.—This sudden state of war would, of necessity, and all in a moment, interrupt and bar the intercourse of this country with the western shores of Europe; and our supplies of corn and cotton being cut off both from England and France, it was imagined that the people of both nations would be precipitated into dreadful revolutions. In short, the plan was nothing less than a tremendous conspiracy against the peace of the world.

In order, however, to induce the entire Cabinet at Washington to acquiesce in the whole scheme, it was deemed necessary to procure the assent and concurrence of the American ministers at London and Paris; and hence originated the idea of a conference. Accordingly, these high officials assembled at Ostend, accompanied by Mr. Daniel Sickles, Mr. George N. Sanders, and Mr. Piatt, their subordinates, all men of violent revolutionary tendencies. Mr. Mason, it is said, adopted the project at once. Mr. Buchanan hesitated, but finally consented to lead the movement, as is shown by his signature being foremost on the manifesto. It is asserted, and, so far as I know, it has never been formally contradicted, that Mr. Sanders, as a stimulus to the expected insurrectionary impulse, circulated the revolutionary addresses of Mazzini and Ledru Rollin, through the dispatch of the American legation, both in France and other European countries. Nevertheless, the whole scheme failed from the disapprobation of one man, whose support was essential to its execution. And I make the statement with the greater pleasure, as a sense of public duty has compelled me to criticise the conduct of that eminent functionary in many other particulars. When the American Cabinet received the Ostend declaration, they lacked the courage to carry it out; and being urged by the strenuous opposition of Mr. Marcy to all parts of the measure, they reversed the programme of war and revolution which must, otherwise, have set both hemispheres in flames, and would, perhaps, before the end, have covered every country on the globe with blood and ashes. I rejoice to say it, as an act of simple justice to one whom I cannot, however, regard as a safe political guide, that in my opinion the world stands indebted to the American Secretary of State for its fortunate escape from a calamity more terrible than any it has experienced since the convulsions of the dark ages.

Now, I boldly affirm that the Ostend project,

ab initio, was an open and outrageous infraction of one cardinal axiom in our Monroe doctrine.—It was an unpardonable transgression against the letter and spirit of that rule which forbids American interference in matters of strictly European policy. There can be no mistake as to this fact.—He that runs may read it. I will not comment on the singularity of the appointment itself—the public mission of a foreigner to a foreign court.—That was doubtless thought expedient by the President to influence foreign suffrages at home. But I do maintain, that the appointment of M. Soule, though a man of brilliant genius, yet a fiery Girondist of the most ultra school, as minister to the court of Spain, so intimately connected with the politics of France, the country of his nativity, was a departure from one great idea in the Monroe declaration, as well as what Louis Napoleon actually considered it—an implied insult to the French Government. Nor can I regard the designation of the inferior officials, Sanders, Sickles, and Piatt, to European posts in any other light. One and all, they are Red Republicans more than Americans. For, we must not forget that the Democracy of Europe is as different from that of America as European despotism itself. It would not be going too far to say, that the Red Republicans of the Old World have no other or higher conception of liberty, than that of the concentrated, undigested, and indigestible will of the numerical majority, without check, or balance, or constitutional regulation. Such a system of self-government presents as violent a contrast to ours, as even the absolutism of the Russian empire. Shadowy and fantastic in theory, and utterly impossible in fact, it bears about the same resemblance to our philosophic and practical plan of Federal authority, which the object of their political worship, the mystic Marianne, a lineal descendant of the infidel “goddess of reason,” does to the pure and beautiful virginity of a modest American maiden. The very appearance of such American incendiaries in the circle of European courts—the mere mission of men pledged to insurrectionary opinions—of men, who, like George N. Sanders, proclaim at Red Republican meetings in New York, “that they would invent a patent *guillotine* for cutting off crowned heads by wholesale”—is a virtual incitement to rebellion and revolution, on the part of the United States, and rationally explains the unfriendly tone of the French press, as well as the jealousy of Louis Napoleon. But the sympathy and association of American ministers with those wild dreamers of European socialism—Kossuth, Mazzini, and Ledru Rollin—displayed a far more insulting contempt towards the leading Powers of the other hemisphere. All such public acts by the authority, or with the connivance, of the American Government, are so many palpable violations of the Monroe policy. If we would enforce one dogma of that peaceful and prudent doctrine, we must be careful to observe the other, its logical correlative, with the most scrupulous accuracy and good faith; for how can we insist, without blushes of shame, that European potentates shall not interpose in American affairs, while we stretch out our hands across the ocean, to fire the destroying mines of insurrection which underlie their thrones? Let us, then, conform to the true

standard of the Monroe creed in both its articles, or rather, in all three; and we need not despair of yet convincing the civilized world, and even the prejudiced aristocracy of England, not only that the consummation of our “manifest destiny” is inseparably implicated with the progressive civilization of all humanity, but also that the means naturally necessary to insure it may well accord with the rules of justice, the principles of international law, and with pacific relations towards every other people and power on the globe.

I must now turn to the other great measure of American policy, which I suggested at the outset as the natural doctrine of voluntary expatriation. I approach this topic, however, with humility and hesitation, as the true principle has been strangely misapprehended in both hemispheres, and I entertain sentiments very different from some of our own most distinguished politicians. Indeed, the doctrine, as I before remarked, has never yet received either a logical definition, or an appropriate name. In the United States it goes under the vague and various denominations of “individual liberty,” “citizen sovereignty,” “personal independence,” or “the right of emigration;” while in England it is viewed as synonymous with filibusterism, foreign aggression, and indefinite annexation. Nevertheless, without attempting to fix the ideas of others by a precise description, I will endeavor to explain my own. By the natural doctrine of expatriation, then, I understand the inherent and indefeasible privilege and power of every freeman to a universal passage over the surface of the globe, both by land and water—the human right of locomotion which God has given in the mere fact of our physical organization—and not to be limited by geographical lines of latitude and longitude, like an island or mountain, nor yet to be fastened and tied down to a particular spot of earth, like a rock or a tree.

I am aware that the feudal system—that monstrous birth of the middle ages—taught an opposite political faith; and that even the law of imperial Rome instituted the slavish maxim: “*Origine propria neminem posse voluntate sua eximi manu festum est*”—that no one can abjure the native allegiance which he owes to the land where he was born. I admit, too, that any number of learned *dicta* can be quoted in support of the absurdity: but, in contradiction of all such authority, I urge, as unanswerable disproof, the decrees of nature and of Providence, and the commands of the Almighty himself, to populate and civilize the world. The distribution of the species; the migration of nations and races, and the settlement of every country on the earth; the insatiable curiosity of the intellect; the physical necessities of our material frames; and all the instincts of the human heart,—alike confute and condemn the rule of perpetual allegiance as a relic of barbarism and brutal domination. At all events, the United States stand committed to a different doctrine, and must, therefore, uphold the natural right of expatriation in all its amplitude and force; for, only by the exercise of that right has the continent itself been peopled—a right which is recognised in our laws of naturalization, and which is confirmed by the regulations of both the Army and the Navy. In truth, the feudal maxim was never anything more

than a vain abstraction, since no government in the civilized world ever essayed its execution in fact.

Trace, then, for a moment, the consequences of this principle. Every free citizen, at his option, may renounce all political connection with his own country, and unite himself with the people of any other, who may choose to receive him. But is the latter clause of the sentence, which fixes a limitation on the generality of the whole proposition, necessary to its logical validity and truth? Cannot the subject of one nation become the member of another, without the consent of the new society which he desires to enter? I reply, without the least uncertainty, that he cannot. And this follows as an inevitable corollary from every theory of the social compact, and from the principles of sovereignty and national independence. There can be no axiom better established as a fundamental in universal law, than the prerogative of every community to refuse the privilege of citizenship to any and all foreigners, at the discretion of the Government. A contrary doctrine would involve deductions too ridiculous for exposure by argument.

Now, as a necessary conclusion from the foregoing premises, it must be admitted that the subjects of one country have no right to force their institutions on the independent people of any other nation; for, if they cannot wrest by violence, from a foreign Government, even the minor privilege of a perfect membership in its society, much less can they arrogate the power of dictation to determine its constitution, or to modify its laws. And here, I must express my utter dissent *toto calo*, from the wild opinions of the Red Republicans, whether in Europe or America. I deny altogether that we are entitled, upon any principles of justice, reason, or expediency, to propagate liberty or Democracy by the sword. I deny this dangerous and revolutionary right to the Government, and to all the people: and I protest against the interpolation of any such fanatical dogma into the natural doctrine of voluntary expatriation, which would only render it revolting to the common sense of mankind.

I concede the fact, and avow it as my cherished belief, that the subjects of any country may join themselves to another nation, if the latter be willing to adopt them; and that, in such case, they may take part in its civil wars, or engage in hostilities against foreign Powers, as freely and fully as any native of the land to which they may have emigrated—but always provided they shall have previously renounced their original allegiance, and thus cut off all ties of connection with the Government of their birth. And men may elect to pursue this course from a variety of motives—from self-interest, or the abstract love of liberty, or from the high and holy impulses of a generous philanthropy to aid a suffering people writhing in the dust under the iron harrow of tyrants and their armed tools.

But reason, and even the etymological import of the word expatriate, require another and further qualification of this natural doctrine. To exercise the right, the citizen must also exert the power.—He must couple the fact with the intention, so as to place himself literally *ex patria*—that is to say, actually beyond the jurisdiction, both civil and political, of his native sovereign. He is not so while

in the Army or Navy, or anywhere within the Territorial limits of his own original Government. This point, when once stated, seems too evident for comment; and yet, singular to say, it has been quite overlooked on both sides of the controversy; for it must be evident, that, without this essential limitation—if a subject might abjure his allegiance anywhere, or at any moment—logical conclusions destructive to all national and legitimate authority would result. No Government would be sovereign within its own boundaries, for the expatriated class must form an exception. The admiral might carry away the nation's fleet, and carry it, lawfully, into the ports of the enemy; while in the crisis of a conflict on the land in some great battle, when the very existence of a country depended on the issue, the general-in-chief, or his subordinates, or any number of the soldiery, might suddenly exclaim: "We will stand this storm of shot and shell, of steel and fire, no longer—huzza for the right of expatriation!" and then instantly turn their arms against the banners of their native land! It follows, also, from the qualification last mentioned, that the principle of expatriation does not confer any power on the citizen to compromise the pacific relations of his own Government, or to perform one act of hostility on its soil, without the authority of some command or permission expressed in the forms of law. All such conduct is an offence against the independent sovereignty of the country, as well as against the public code of nations, and may and should be punished in that character.

I am compelled, therefore, though with much diffidence and the greatest respect, to declare my disbelief in the doctrines promulgated some time ago on this floor by the distinguished member from Mississippi, on the subject of our statutes for the preservation of American neutrality. It is true, I yield my hearty assent to the first of his general premises—that Congress, under the Constitution, has no power to create offences against the law of nations, but only to define and punish such as were known and recognised at the epoch of our independence, by the public code of Europe; or such as may grow out of treaties legally consummated. Thus far we agree. But I dissent altogether from his minor proposition, which affirms certain preparations for aggressive hostilities by the subjects of a neutral sovereign within his own jurisdiction, and against the territories of a friendly power, to accord both with a state of neutrality, and the established rules of the law of nations.—On the contrary, I regard them to be wholly incompatible with either; and I will now proceed to detail my reasons for this judgment.

In the first place, I must remark that the sole authority cited by the gentleman as favoring his assumptions, was that of Vattel, and this did not seem to me coextensive with his own latitudinarian position either in length or breadth. However, let that pass; for, although the gentleman has seen proper to ignore the fact, it is nevertheless certain, that the absurd and unsupported *dictum* of Vattel on the point under discussion, has been totally discredited and discarded by all recent writers, and among the rest, by both Mr. Manning and Chancellor Kent. (See Manning's Com., p. 180.)

Kent broadly asserts, "that it is an essential character of neutrality to furnish no aids to one party, which the neutral is not equally ready to furnish to the other." And he quotes, with cordial approbation, the rule laid down by Mr. Manning, "that foreign levies may not be allowed to one belligerent, while refused to his antagonist, consistently with the duties of neutrality, unless such an exclusive privilege was granted by treaty antecedent to the war." (1 Kent's Com., p. 116.)

Again: The same eminent American author reaffirms the principle in other and stronger terms: "That no use of neutral territory, for the purposes of war, can be permitted; and that no proximate acts of war are to be allowed to originate in any manner on neutral ground." (1 Kent Com., p. 118.)

The same doctrine was judicially declared in the English courts in the leading case of the *Twee Gebroeders*, and the decision has never been shaken, or even criticised, to the present hour. (5 Rob. Rep., p. 373.)

This rule has also received the highest sanction of the American Government. Mr. Jefferson approved it in his letter to Mr. Tennant of the 15th of May, 1793; while the American commissioners to the court of France—Benjamin Franklin, Silas Dean, and Arthur Lee—by their circular, in 1793, to the commanders of American vessels, extended the principle to all captures and acts of a hostile nature, even "within sight of a neutral coast."

In *Dewutz vs. Hendricks*, 9 Moore's C. R. Rep., 586, it was held "to be contrary to the law of nations for persons residing in England to enter into engagements to raise money, by way of loan, for the purpose of supporting the subjects of a foreign State in arms against a government in friendship with England, and that no legal right of action attached upon any such contract." And the same doctrine was avowed by the Government of the United States, in Mr. Pickering's letter to Messrs. Pinkney, Marshall, and Gerry, of March 2, 1798.

Indeed, with the strange and solitary exception of Vattel, whose Chancellor Kent justly characterizes as "a loose writer, and not sufficiently supported by the authority of precedents"—all the modern treatises, and the adjudications of every enlightened tribunal in Europe and the United States, alike concur in the maxim, that no preparations for aggressive war, and no proximate acts of hostility against a friendly Power, can be tolerated in neutral territory, in accordance with the law of nations. And therefore, on that question, the opinion of Vattel, as cited by the member from Mississippi, is completely superseded and null.—And his minor premise failing, the whole superstructure of deduction founded on it topples to the dust, crushed by its own weight, *mole ruit sua*.—In fact, from its self-evident justice, as well as manifest expediency, one might well suppose that the rule of equal and impartial neutrality should be considered as an axiom of common sense. For, if persons could be permitted to prepare armaments, or digest hostile expeditions on neutral soil, the Power against which they were intended to act must have the corresponding right to enter the ports and invade the jurisdiction of the neutral sovereign, and destroy them *in limine* before they

might be ready to march or sail; and thus there might, and would be, presented the political contradiction of war and peace within the same divided State. The adoption of the honorable gentleman's policy would be the end of all neutrality. If I could go as far as he does, I would even venture a step further, and advocate an utter repeal of the law of nations. With a grand flourish of trumpets, with the flutter of blood-red banners, and the firing of cannon, I would install in the highest dignity of a national maxim, on the records of Congress, the terrible lines of Lucan—

*"Mensuraque juris
Vis erat."*

And then I would give the sanguinary sentence a free translation, and send Soule to publish it around the world: "American might is the only principle of American right!"

There is but one outlet by which the gentleman can escape from the conclusion of all the authorities that I have previously quoted, and a hundred others which I have not time to mention; and that would be, to contend that neutral subjects have the right to perform acts within a neutral jurisdiction, to prepare hostile enterprises, which the neutral sovereign himself could not do. This, however, would be too monstrous an absurdity for any logical or even sane intellect to broach. Besides, as the Constitution has wisely conferred on the National Legislature the exclusive power to declare war, that delegation of authority, *ipso facto*, operates, by necessity, as a perfect negative against the right to originate any hostile enterprise or movement on the part of either the States or the people; and hence such actions might well be punished as offences against Federal sovereignty, and the fundamental law of the Constitution, as well as crimes against the law of nations.

Finally, to borrow the language of Mr. Webster, then Secretary of State, in his official letter to Lord Ashburton of April 21, 1841: "It is a manifest and gross impropriety for individuals to engage in the civil conflicts of other States, and thus be at war while their Government is at peace; and that the salutary doctrine of non-intervention by one nation with the affairs of others is liable to be essentially impaired, if, while the Government refrains from interference, interference is still allowed to its subjects, individually or in masses."

If it, then, be asked, of what account is my natural doctrine of voluntary expatriation, in the view of the foregoing principles, I reply, that there exists not the slightest incongruity of contradiction betwixt the rules of the two doctrines; because, the instant when an individual has consummated his expatriation by passing beyond the jurisdiction of his native sovereign, and by abjuring his allegiance, both in fact and intention, he ceases to be a subject of the former Government, and becomes free to act on his own responsibility—to unite with what other societies, to enlist in what armies, and to wage whatever wars may comport with his interests, attract his sympathies, or please his fancy; and such is the practical law of the whole civilized world. Englishmen, Irishmen, French, and Germans, marched and fought with our American forces in the campaign against Mexico, without compromising the neutrality, or periling the peace and honor of their original Govern-

ments, to which they owed fidelity no longer. But to urge the principle further, and suffer either aliens or subjects to make neutral soil the theatre of preparation for war against any friendly Power, by the enlistment of troops, or the contrivance of armaments and expeditions, would not be to advance and improve the modern law of nations, but to return backwards to the savage and unsettled, or rather piratical, state of the most barbarous and bloody ages, to the epoch of the Crusaders, or the days of the Goths and Vandals.

Nevertheless, I must also avow, that I am in favor of one limitation on the present statutes for the preservation of our neutral relations; for although I cannot regard those laws as substantially objectionable in themselves, they yet seem liable to be stretched by construction, by the judiciary, as well as by the Executive, to purposes of the most injurious tendency, and such as never were contemplated at the time of their enactment.

We have all witnessed the actual exercise of this power of perversion in the recent instance of Nicaragua, and therefore we should anticipate the possibility of its recurrence. What, sir, were the facts? A division of opinion and sentiment, equivalent to a perpetual condition of civil war, existed among the people of Nicaragua themselves. One faction preferred the rule of despotism pure and unadulterated, while the other displayed as strong an attachment to republican forms. The consequence was, eternal anarchy and bloodshed. To end this state of war, the popular party invited certain American citizens, and other foreigners, to join them, and share their destiny, whether for good or evil. The latter acceded to their request, and the result was, the complete overthrow of the opposite faction. The Democrats of Nicaragua installed a new and constitutional government, with a native president at its head, and appointed an American, who had fully expatriated himself, and sworn allegiance to the country of his adoption, commander-in-chief of its military forces. So far, it would appear, that no intelligent statesman in the world could take exception to any part of the transaction, which stood warranted indeed by high precedents in the practice of all nations, and especially in our own.

But the people of the United States, aside from their natural sympathy for free institutions, had an immediate and powerful personal interest in the affairs of Central America, that great turnpike in the road to California and Oregon. Hence, as soon as the news of the revolution reached New Orleans and the Atlantic cities, excited by the ardent and general enthusiasm which such gratifying information could not fail to arouse, hundreds of our citizens desired to forsake their native land, and seek a fresh field of enterprise—to emulate in Nicaragua the glory that had been won by their friends and brothers.

It was then that a most extraordinary and outrageous conjunction of adverse influences occurred for the purpose of trampling down the national independence, and crushing out the life and liberties of Nicaragua. Stimulated by the intrigues of European courts, the neighboring State of Costa Rica, without any other excuse or cause for hostilities than the object which she boldly avowed—the expulsion of all Americans from the country—

published a declaration of war against the new Republic, and precipitated an invasion to exterminate all foreigners, although the *elite* of her own army was composed of foreign materials—of English soldiers carrying English muskets, and French and Germans, equipped with the deadly Minie rifle, forged in the famous arsenals of Europe. The mightiest agency of modern times—the whole European press—enlisted with unusual warmth in behalf of Costa Rica, and to put down the republicans. But the most unique spectacle of all, was to behold the Government of the United States taking the same side of tyranny and oppression.

The authorities of Costa Rica had proclaimed their determination to expel every native of this country from the soil of Central America, and to violate all the rules of civilized warfare, by the refusal of quarter, or the right of capitulation, to persons born within our jurisdiction. Such a declaration was a direct and atrocious infringement of the natural doctrine of voluntary expatriation.—Nevertheless, the Executive of the United States took no steps to defend its own dignity and honor, or to maintain the interests and privileges of the people. It uttered no protest against the barbarism of Costa Rica, and evinced no disposition to throw even the weight of its moral influence and example in the trembling scales of justice, freedom, and humanity. It would not grant a recognition of Nicaraguan independence until compelled to the measure by an overwhelming force of public opinion, and the political necessities of the impending Cincinnati Convention. It would not accept Col. Parker H. French as Minister from Nicaragua, and the world can imagine no other pretext for the rejection than the mere fact that he chanced to be an expatriated American. And yet, with its habitual inconsistency, the same administration could, without scruple or hesitation, accredit the naturalized foreigner, Soule to the diademed circle of European courts.

Had the Executive even paused here, it might, perhaps, have been excused on the plea of fear or imbecility. But it must, by instinct and choice, become an active ally of Costa Rican piracy and European policy. The American Secretary of State must communicate officially to the English Government the bitter hatred and opposition of his own to the revolutionary drama progressing in Central America; and, as if not content with that deed of treachery, at once against the American interests, and the success of liberal institutions, the administration misconstrues our neutrality laws to defeat the natural right of free emigration. Orders are dispatched to all the army of tidewaiters and attorneys to arrest every movement of Americans in the direction of Nicaragua, lest the republican host might be recruited by expatriation. Our citizens are captured, imprisoned, arraigned before the Federal tribunals, and harassed by futile prosecutions, utterly without reason, as is demonstrated by the event that they all end in acquittal or abandonment.

England raised a terrible clamor against the enlistment of Americans under the banner of Nicaragua, but said not a word about the employment of English and Germans by the authority of Costa Rica. The accusation, in every particular, was unjust as well as preposterous; for among the for-

eigners beneath the Nicaraguan flag were companies of both Germans and French doing battle beside the Americans. Nor did any Power complain as to the bad faith or officious interference of the German or French Governments.

Now, in my judgment, we owe it to our own dignity, to the liberty of our citizens, and to the conservation of peace and friendship with all the governments of the earth, to adopt some effectual method for the prevention, in all future time, of any collision or misunderstanding between the administration and the people, similar to that which has so shamefully agitated the country in reference to the Nicaraguan contest. And to insure such a happy result, I can imagine no other measure, accordant with the Constitution and the rules of the law of nations, than the one which I suggest. Let Congress authoritatively define the principle of voluntary expatriation, and by the same act, declare that no statute in relation to neutrality shall be so construed by the courts, or by the Executive, as to interfere with the full and free exercise of that inalienable right in any case whatsoever falling within the terms and meaning of the definition. That far we may modify our neutrality laws consistently with the practice of all enlightened nations; but not a step further can we go, without shocking the common sense, and willfully sinning against the intelligence, justice, and humanity of the age.

This provision would afford the citizen the blessing of his natural and constitutional liberty to travel where he might please, and with arms in his hands, while it would leave the Government ample power to preserve its territory inviolably secure and sacred from the organization of hostile armaments and enterprises within the limits of the national jurisdiction, and to prohibit any portion of the people from usurping the sovereign authority to declare war as upon their own responsibility—that barbarous and bloody license sufficient to excite the enmity and horror of all other nations. And if this doctrine, well defined and generally comprehended, had been in force, the American Administration would never have been used as the tame and pliable instrument of European diplomacy, and the freedom and independence of the popular government in Nicaragua would never have been imperiled as they have been, and are now.

But although the combination against liberal institutions in Central America seemed truly tremendous, in the hour of their extremity and utmost need Providence raised up in their behalf a hero that proved himself altogether equal to the occasion—a compeer to the most famous historical characters of antiquity. For not even Romulus, who opened an asylum for refugees from all nations, in his new city between the two summits of the capitol—*inter montium*—was superior to the great warrior of Nicaragua in feats of prowess; while the patrician, Numa, though aided by the counsels of his mythic nymph, the divine Egeria, must concede the palm of praise to the American adventurer, William Walker, in administrative wisdom. While surrounded by domestic foes and menaced by the frowns of European, and even of American domination, with a few hundred brave men, desperate in the cause of civil liberty, like himself, he

has, nevertheless, educed the beautiful spirit of law and order out of an internal chaos, and, at the same time, hurled back all his external enemies with proud scorn and sublime defiance. And yet, this man is still slandered as a pirate and filibuster, by the enlightened journals of the English press; and the accusation is extended, through and beyond him, at the whole American community, who are charged with a reckless passion for aggrandizement and aggression, incompatible with the first principles of national independence, and dangerous to the peace of the world.

Now I do not doubt that some of the English alarmists on the topic of American filibustering honestly believe in the reality of the specter which their own fear or fancy alone has conjured up; and as a specious proof, they cite the annexation of Texas, and the annals of the Mexican campaigns. However, they forget that the acquisition of Texas was not the final result of a long and laborious scheme of patient policy, conceived by the United States and carried out by the cunning of a system, but was wholly the work of Providence or chance. The English critic may choose whichever point of the dilemma that pleases his taste or prejudice. It is notorious that the original inducements for American migration into Texas came from Mexico herself, in the offer of large donations of land to all actual settlers within that Territory. The American Government neither originated the project nor interfered in its execution. Nor did the American emigrants, in their new homes, ever harbor an idea of insurrection against the sovereignty of their adoption, until the social contract under which they had been influenced to enter the country had been annulled, and every free institution with the Federal compact lay prone in the dust, beneath the cruel foot of the dictator, Santa Anna. In such a case, would not all Englishmen have done as they did—rebelled and overturned the power of the tyrant? They came of too noble a stock to lie down in silent submission under everlasting wrong and utter ignominy. They were Americans; and, having recovered their independence, nothing could be more natural than their desire to seek communion in the great family of American States. Annexation was the effect—equally as natural, for there never was a Power on the globe that would have turned coldly or disdainfully away from an offering so magnificent as all the wealth of those rare Texan cotton fields; and then the war followed as a necessary consequence, not from American aggression, but of Mexican obstinacy and stupidity. Such is the entire history of Texan annexation affecting the point under view; and it furnishes no countenance to the English charge as to unfairness, or any manner of injustice in the transaction. Nor is there the slightest particle of proof, either here or elsewhere, that Americans have that insatiable appetite for territorial acquisitions which is attributed to them by their enemies, and more particularly by those who are themselves so obnoxious to a terrible recrimination. In every light it ill becomes the tyrant of India, and the oppressor of Ireland, to bandy epithets about usurpation in America.

I would submit, however, with perfect assurance to the earnest consideration of every intelligent

man, whether European or American, that the same rigid abstinence from all interference in the internal concerns of other States, which the law of nations enjoins between the superior Powers of the civilized world, cannot in the very nature of things be susceptible of a like extensive and exclusive application to the case of the inferior—savage, colored, or mixed—races of either the eastern or western hemisphere. And I might urge, as the unanswerable evidence of this necessary qualification, that it accords with the practice of all the great and enlightened Governments on the surface of the globe, whether ancient or modern. What European nation has treated the red tribes of the American continent as equal and independent, or conceded to them their claim of savage sovereignty over the wilderness? Nor could this, indeed, have been admitted, without leaving the forests of the New World to be eternally a frightful desert of wild beasts and barbarous men.

But I will adduce another, and, if possible, still more striking example, as demonstrative proof of the principle which I have indicated. I will point to a country of immense extent, and almost fabulous population, to be reckoned only in enormous numbers by the hundred million—to Governments fixed from unknown and indefinite ages, and so firmly fixed as to appear immovable—to antique sciences, arts, philosophies, literature, and religions—I will point to Hindustan, that possessed all these, and enquire, what European Power—Portuguese, Danish, Dutch, French, or English—acknowledged the equality or independence of its native sovereigns, as prescribed by the law which governs the more civilized nations? Not one. Such is the response of universal history. And yet these very Hindoos, in all their physical, intellectual, and moral endowments, were not at all inferior to the mixed races of Spanish-American origin, over whose destiny, in the imaginary horrors, of future annexation, England wails and weeps in such spasmodic agony. And still, ever and anon, as she recites her ethical homilies for the benefit of filibustering America, with the flash of her sword, or the sweep of her pen, by way of parenthesis, she snatches whole provinces and kingdoms to her eastern dominions. Now it is the beautiful Birman empire, which she digests at a single meal; next, it is the splendid province of Scinde, on both banks of the classic Indus; while to-day it is the flourishing territories of Oude. At length the ambitious banner of England, like the wing of a thunder-cloud, as gloomy and menacing, overshadows the whole of Hindostan, and floats in triumph on the confines of China. Nevertheless, I, for one, will utter no word of complaint against the mere fact of either English annexations in India, or French aggressions in Algerine-Africa; because I believe it to be not only the right, but the political and social duty of the powerful and enlightened nations, to civilize and christianize the rest of the world. And this only can be effected by the colonization of ideas, and a liberal interfusion of superior blood. What I object to in English, and all other European extension, is not the fact, but the form; not the act itself, but the end proposed by its accomplishment, and the mode of its execution.

In this respect the filibustering airs of England are totally different from ours in America. We are inspired by the ardent zeal, and it may be, the enthusiastic fanaticism, of the missionary, to spread our opinions and institutions as broadly as possible, to make converts to the cause of civilization and regulated government, to raise a universal hymn of liberty that shall ring its music around the globe. On the contrary, the English filibusters have always been actuated by the sordid spirit of commercial monopoly, to erect factories, to exact tribute, and amass imperial fortunes. I say this without any prejudice or feelings of unkindness towards England, and, in saying it, only reaffirm the assertion of the greatest English orator and statesman. Humanity shudders pallid with horror on reading Burke's burning condensation of English Indian history: "They have sold every monarch, prince, and State in India, broken every contract, and ruined every prince and State who trusted them." In short, the distinction between the American and the English filibuster is precisely this: the American expatriates himself, at the call of oppressed nations, to redeem and save them; while the Englishman never goes but for personal profit, and to secure that he will add new and heavier links to the chain which binds his victims down in the dust. The one seeks the soil of a foreign country, as a settler, to improve and adorn it as an enduring home, to marry, bring up children, and build school houses and churches; the other sojourns as a trader, or the collector of taxes—to gather gold, return to Europe and purchase a peerage. The first is a real emigrant, the pioneer of principles, the colonist of great ideas, the practical preacher of free institutions; but the second is a true adventurer, wandering abroad in the search of fortune, and possessing no sympathies or sentiments in common with the race around him, who therefore regard him as a natural enemy, perhaps a robber.

I must not, however, be understood by any such contrast, as assigning a general or characteristic difference between Americans and Englishmen, but only as between those who pass into foreign countries as filibusters among the natives; and this fact is undoubtedly due to certain peculiar causes in the opposite education and habits of the two nations. The Englishman is passionately attached to the soil of that English home where his forefathers have lived and died during dim and distant centuries, and where he both expects and desires to rest his own ashes after the end of "life's fitful fever." For him, England holds all that is good or great; it is his world, and beyond it lies nothing but savage exile.

But, with the American, all this patriotic prejudice is utterly reversed. His immediate or very near ancestors were emigrants, and he has a hereditary instinct for migration. No old legends, no wild tales of heary romance, cling about the summits of his American mountains, or haunt the solitude of his whispering streams. He has no national predilections or antipathies: how could he be supposed to have, when the people of every country in Europe meet on terms of entire and constitutional equality in his neighborhood, and the very blood in his veins is derived from as many and various sources? He has no preference for

places, but boundless love for ideas and institutions; and, in lieu of locality, he adheres to liberty, with all the strength of attraction, and more than the tenacity of steel. He is a cosmopolite in both principle and feeling, and cares not whither he travels, provided, only and always, democracy attends him. And thus he is constituted, by nature and education, by theory and practice, to be the minister of freedom throughout the world.—The method of his mission, and the standard of his success, may be explained in a single term, but of immeasurable significance, and that word is, *the colonization of ideas*; whereas all the European powers, without any exception, colonize only for commerce.

Great Britain, it is well known, has uniformly discouraged even English emigration to her eastern possessions; and in this narrow and jealous policy consisted the capital mistake, the cruel injustice of all her annexations in that quarter of the globe.—Had she pursued the American plan—had she permitted a rich diffusion, a purifying baptism of British blood around the coast of Coromandel, and all along the vast valley of the Ganges; in fine, had she Anglicized that great Indian population, including its hundreds of millions, the domination of her empire, notwithstanding its monopolies and oppressions, would have proved the highest blessing that India ever knew, and an almost equal, though incidental benefit to the whole human family. Such was the exalted trust committed by Providence to the hands of England in the East; and I do not despair of seeing her perform it yet. Otherwise the glorious work will surely be transferred to more vigorous or faithful Educiary keeping.

If England would only commence in earnest the fulfillment of the mighty mission to which she has been called—the civilization of the oriental world, the expansion and full development of her free and Christian institutions, and their cultivation in every part of those wide English dominions on which the sun of heaven always rises, but never sets; if she would put away her national jealousies, and discard her unfounded fears of American growth and greatness, and enter upon the luminous path of a loftier competition with the United States—the rivalry of kindly arts, instead of arms, of scientific discoveries, and the communication of light, intelligence, and virtue to all the species of man,—how soon might the world be redeemed from darkness, and saved from the sanguinary sins and pollutions of war! The two grand branches of the Anglo-Saxon stock, the one pressing from the bay of Bengal, and the other from the golden gulf of California, would meet in some beautiful group of sunny isles in the Pacific ocean, and together clasp their united hands in love and peace around the globe.

In addition to those already treated, there are many other matters of policy, and some of the highest moment, which I have neither the time nor the precise data to discuss as they deserve.—But I am not willing to close my remarks without a brief reference to the singular condition and insufficient strength of the Navy as compared with the actual requirements of our commerce, with the demands of the national dignity, and with the relative might of the same strong arm of power pos-

sessed by the great governments of the world; for politicians amidst their brilliant dreams of extension and glory on the land must never forget that this globe of ours is teraqueous, and that, by the wonderful revolution in the art of navigation caused by the introduction of steam, the ocean has become an element of power far more important than it ever was before in any epoch of human history. The effect has been to diminish the lines of distance and to reduce the measurements of space to the standard of time, so that Europe and America are not now as remote from each other as three Sabbaths of the solar year. England and the United States are not quite two weeks apart. Moreover, the employment of steam will enable hostile armaments to penetrate bays, harbors, inlets, and the mouths of rivers, at will, without waiting for fickle winds or the favor of the returning tide, as was the case in bygone ages. At most, as soon as the smoke of an enemy's chimney can be descried darkening the blue horizon, and ere the neighborhood can be aroused, or the militia called out for defence, his cannon may be thundering in the heart of a great city, or spreading ravage and ruin far inland among the rural villages. No longer will it be said that fleets are hovering on our coasts. They will precipitate themselves upon their prey, as doth the eagle, rapid as the lightning of heaven, as unexpected and as destroying. And although time and experience have not yet, by practical lessons, fully demonstrated the extent of this extraordinary change, enough has been witnessed to prove it one of the very greatest in the annals of the species. The Government of England, ever shrewd and vigilant, at once perceived the consequences of the new fact, and proceeded without delay to adapt her pliable policy to the revolution of the altered circumstances, for the purpose of insuring the like ascendancy which she had held under the former system; while the people of the United States have attempted but a feeble movement in a similar direction. The result has been as astonishing as it is humiliating to American patriotism and pride. England has, to-day, three hundred and fifty war steamers. We have but eight. Hers carry six thousand and fifteen guns. Ours have only eighty-six. All the cannon in the British navy amount to fifteen thousand four hundred and eighty-eight. The Americans can reckon just five hundred and thirty-seven, all told. And yet, we have a larger mercantile marine than Great Britain, and therefore more need of protection for its interests; while the immensity of our coast line, and the enormous distance of our voyages, as contrasted with hers, render the disproportion in naval power truly astounding.

I am aware that the schemes of foreign policy in the two countries are essentially different. England relies on force or fear to push her empire and extend her trade to all parts of the globe. The United States from the first hour of their sovereign existence, have only sought to reap their commercial harvests, and to gather the glory of their greatness by the arts of peace. The idea of aggressive hostilities, of war for the sake of conquest and external domination, has never entered the mind of an American statesman. And hence our system contemplates, not offensive, but defensive opera-

tions alone. We mostly intrust the protection of our shores to the citizen soldiery, and of our trade upon the high seas to the marine militia, who have, more than once, so amply justified our confidence by their prowess as privateers. Hence it cannot be expected that our free and pacific people will ever consent to burden themselves with excessive taxes for the support of a powerful standing army or of a strong navy in time of peace.—Nor would I advise any such project. But I do contend that we should possess a respectable naval strength, one adequate to the demands of our actual commercial relations, and more especially sufficient for the defense of our own coasts. There should be navy yards in every principal section of the sea-board for the construction of a class of steamers competent to protect our shoal waters both North and South. The works of that character at Memphis and the Memphis station, never should have been abandoned, as they were. And above all, I would urge the most liberal appropriations to scientific men, for the purpose of making experiments as to the best means of securing harbors from the approach of hostile fleets; for what would be the expenditure of a few millions of dollars compared to the pecuniary loss which might result to the great city of New York alone, by the bombardment of some Baltic fleet? But the subject is large enough for a speech, or even a treatise in itself, and I will take leave of it for the present.

In conclusion, to give a brief *resume* of the policy which I have endeavored to indicate with such humble powers as I could command, and with all the most profound convictions of my reason, and the warmest wishes of my heart: In the first place, I would establish, on such firm ground as never

more could be criticised or called in question, the Monroe doctrine, in both its correlative dogmas—the one that prohibits American interference in European politics, and the other which forbids European interference or colonization on the American continent. And I would advocate both as being, not a belligerent or aggressive, but supereminently a pacific and friendly policy, and as tending truly to render war not only unnecessary but even impossible.

Secondly: I would define and fix by the strongest force of legislative enactment the natural doctrine of voluntary expatriation, so as to open the largest sphere for the development of American ideas, institutions, and enterprise, that could be attained, in accordance with the rules of neutrality and the principles of the law of nations.

Finally: I would urge the execution of this policy in all its parts, in the most peaceful manner, but by the most energetic measures founded on the strength of our inexhaustible natural resources, and the character of our Government and people—and at the same time, with such national courtesy and consummate respect for the rights, and even the prejudices of other powers as to satisfy the whole civilized world—nay, the very savage races themselves, of our equity, moderation, and amicable motives. And if war should come nevertheless—if the tyrannies of the other hemisphere should coalesce to put down the authority of our example, to extinguish the last light of republican liberty starring with innumerable haloes the arch of the western sky, I would still confide as hopefully as ever in the high destiny of American civilization, trusting alone in the goodness and justice of God, and in the potency and patriotism of the American people.

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WASHINGTON CITY, D. C., May 15th, 1856.

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